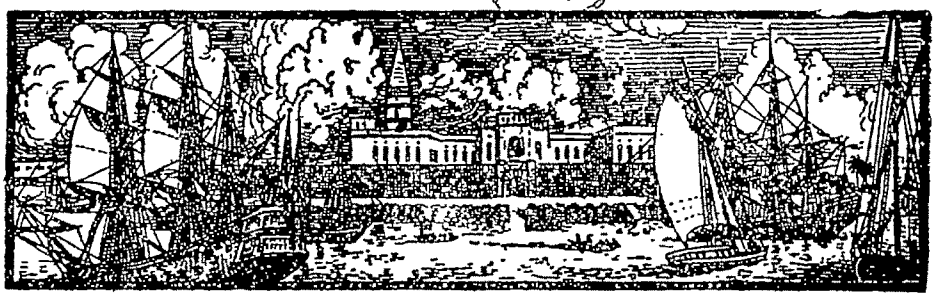
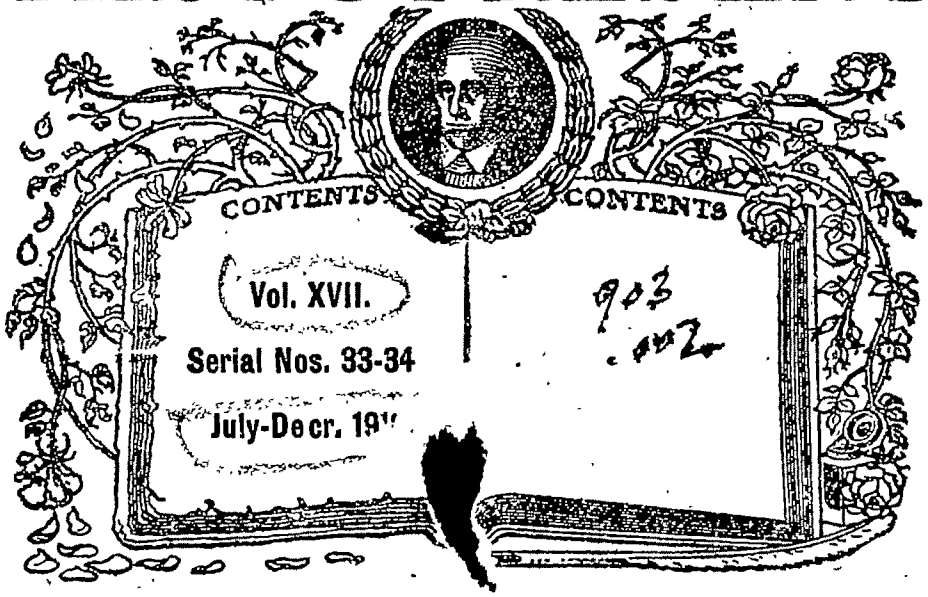
. XVII, Serial Nos., 33-34. July—Decr. 1918.



BENGAL
PAST & PRESENT





JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Notes on Old Calcutta—I.

BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE "STATESMAN."

IN the year 1756 the Governor's House stood within the Old Fort. Dr. C. R. Wilson writes of it:

> "In the middle of the south section of the fort was the Governor's House which Hamilton describes as 'the best and most regular piece of architecture that I ever saw in India.' This building formed three sides of a rectangle. Its west and principal face was 245 feet long. In the centre of this was the great gate, and from it a colonnade ran down to the water gate and the landing-stage. Entering the great gate and turning to your left, you ascended the grand staircase which led to the hall and the principal rooms of the factory. The south-east wing contained the apartments of the Governor."

In the years 1891-2 Dr. Wilson had the privilege of making excavations on the site of the Old Fort, and the result of his labours was to confirm Hamilton's high praise of the "piece of architecture."

It was down the colonnade leading to the south water-gate of the Fort that Governor Drake made his base escape to the ships on June 20th, 1756. According to Holwell it was through "the small western gate" Siraju'd-daulah entered the Fort. Holwell states that on the evening of the 20th, prior to the tragedy of the Black Hole, he had three interviews with the Nawab—"one in Durbar."

On January 2nd, 1757, the keys of the Fort were surrendered to Clive, who, on the day following, made the keys over to Admiral Watson, who in turn delivered them to Governor Drake. Drake, who remained as Governor till June 1758, possessed a house of his own, and this house, previous to July 3rd. 1758, was purchased by the Council for Rs. 12,000, "to be used as an Import Warehouse when the Old Fort was clearing out to military." The Admiral was accommodated in Mr. Watts' house, which had been valued at the sum of Rs. 300! Mr. Richard Court's house was purchased for current rupees 8,700 "for the publick offices of this Settlement and for the holding of councils." During this period it may be conjectured that Clive, when in Calcutta, resided in the Fort.

Miss Blechynden in her "Calcutta Past and Present" gives an interesting extract from "a private diary" which we will abbreviate:—

> "28th October, 1795. To Williamson's; it is Hamilton's house behind the Writers' Buildings. After examining the house carefully, I advised him to have nothing to do with it.....

"October 30, 1795..... Williamson said it was the Government House when he came out, but believes it was taken for that purpose merely because it had doors and windows to it; the Mahomedans had burnt those of other houses at the capture of Calcutta.

Tradition, confirmed by one of Lord Curzon's tablets, has always had it that the Royal Exchange building, demolished in 1915, was both Clive's house in Calcutta and that "best-house in the town" "behind the Play House" which Philip Francis rented in 1776 at £100 per mensem. From the Register of Deeds 1781-1834 I have been able to ascertain that Hamilton's house was too far to the east to be described as "behind the Play House" and it is perfectly certain that it was not the house occupied by Philip Francis. Miss Blechynden herself does not trust to the "private diary," as she writes: "Clive most likely occupied 'Mr. Eyre's house,' if such it was during the three years of his first administration of Bengal, from January 1757 to February 1760, when he sailed for England." Here are a number of errors, for Clive's first administration commenced in July 1758. Mr. Eyre's house must have been on the site subsequently occupied by the Play House, erected by public subscription in 1775, and Eyre's house and others adjoining it seem to have been erased early in 1757 in order to provide "an esplanade for the factory." On September 22nd 1760 we find a reference to Clive's House in the Public Consultation:—

"The Sea Custom Master reports to the Board that he has pitched upon the Dwelling-House belonging to Huzzroomull, lately possessed by Colonel Clive, as the most proper place for a Custom House."

Holwell also had his own house. It was "contiguous to the Old Ditch," the creek that ran from the Concha Codee Ghaut (Colvin's Ghat), along Hastings Street, through Dingha Bangha to the Salt Lakes, and of which a memory is preserved in Creek Row. This house, however, was purchased for the Sea and Land Custom Master (R. Becher) in 1759, before Holwell succeeded to Clive. In that year the Bengal Council purchased Mr. Carvalho's house for the residence of Lieut.-Colonel Eyre Coote, but in the following year, this house "being the most convenient for the Governor," it was made over to Henry Vansittart, who had come from Madras to succeed Holwell in the chair. "For the Commanding Officer of our Troops in Bengal," the Council purchased, at current rupees 20,000, Mr. Holmes' house, "near the Fort and Barracks." These purchases were apologised for on the ground: "we judge it much more for the Company's interest than paying house rent, as they will always fetch the sums paid for them."

On January 5th 1761, the Consultations record:—

"There being no Garden House for the refreshment of the Governor when the load of business will permit him to retire, and we being

convinced the Honourable Company will have no objection to so reasonable an indulgence, *agreed* we purchase the Garden House formerly belonging to Mr. Frankland for that use, at the price of 10,000 Arcot rupees."

In reckoning on the approval of the Directors in England, the Council at Fort William miscalculated, and the Governor in the following year was himself compelled to pay for the Garden House. This extract is of special interest because the Garden House to which it relates is still standing and in excellent condition, it being the present Loreto Convent in Middleton Row. The Mr. Frankland mentioned appears to have been in possession of the garden in 1749, and the place is marked in Orme's plan of the territory of Calcutta in 1757. It is well known that in after years the House was occupied by Sir Elijah Impey and by Bishop Heber. It may be conjectured that Mr. William Frankland was son of Henry Frankland, grandson of the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, and Governor at Fort William, 1726-28. Governor Frankland married, February 25th, 1714, Mary, the daughter of a Bengal merchant, Alexander Cross, and the fourth child of this couple born in 1721, was named William.

It is not unlikely the situation of Governor Vansittart's town-house is commemorated by Vansittart Row. His brother George, a civil servant of some importance, acquired about 632 bigas of land in Dhee Birjee, *i.e*, the district lying to the south of the present Middleton Row. The annual rent of this magnificent estate, Mr. Sterndale says, was Rs. 789, and it was "redeemable at fifteen years' purchase, say Rs 12,000 for the entire holding." A portion of the estate was sold to Charles Short whose name appears in Short Street, and a part passed through the hands of a John Doyely to that John Bristow who was one of the most active of Philip Francis's *clientele*. The beauty and talents of his wife as an amateur actress are commemorated by Dr. Busteed. In the South Park Street Burial-ground there is a monument to a Henry Vansittart, who died October 7th 1786, in the 32nd year of his age. An obituary notice in the *Calcutta Gazette* of October 12th, 1786, speaks of this gentleman's learning "in the Arabick and Persian languages" and adds that he "was one of the brightest ornaments of the Asiatic Society," and assigns to him much of "the success that has attended Mr. Hastings' plan for the manufacture of salt, whereby the revenues have been increased 50 lakhs *per annum*." Governor H. Vansittart, who perished in the wreck of the *Aurora* in 1770, had a son named Henry, who was probably the Orientalist.

There are, so far as the present writer is aware, no reasons for rejecting the idea that Clive occupied the house in Clive Street during the period of his second adminstration. Governor John Cartier appears to have used Belvidere as his garden house. The Dutch Admiral Stavorinus in 1769 describes how a

newly-arrived Director of the Dutch East India Company dined with Mr. Verelst in "his country-house about two hours walk from Calcutta," and later on how "at six o'clock that evening Mr. Cartier came to fetch the Director and his company to take a ride to his country seat about two Dutch miles from Calcutta, where we were entertained with an excellent concert performed by amateurs and an elegant supper." It is unlikely, however, that Belvidere was an official residence of the Governor. When in 1772 or 1773 Barwell purchased the famous Kidderpore House from the Nawab, he felt himself free to lend Belvidere to a lady whose character has been much blown upon by the author of that disgusting book the "Intrigues of a Nabob." Kidderpore House had been the property of a Mr. Alexander, who sold it to the Nabob of Murshidabad—or rather, as the latter was a minor, to his mother, the Begum, but Mr. Aldersey, the then next highest in power to the Governor, entered the house without asking permission. In the meanwhile Barwell purchased the house from the Begum, and when Aldersey endeavoured to place a civilian of the name of Goodwin in possession, trouble ensued. Barwell writes in one letter: "I hold Belvidere, which I lent to Mrs. Thompson, by no other right than my right to the Garden House, late Alexander's." In another: "Belvedire, you must know, does not belong to me, and I have held it only during the pleasure of Mr. Aldersey." As Mrs. Thompson was not to remain in Belvidere, Barwell wrote to Goodwin: "You will not be offended at my accommodating Mrs. Thompson, to whom I can offer no other habitation than the gardens you now occupy. My town house is engaged to Mr. Barton and his family, and were it not, a residence in town is not agreeable to Mrs. Thompson." Aldersey, it may be explained, was one of the Madras civilians whom Clive had brought to Calcutta in 1765 to supersede Bengal civilians of whom Barwell had been one!

The history of Belvidere, after it had ceased to be a portion of Warren Hastings's Alipur estate, has been sketched by Mr. C. E. Buckland in his "Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors." The subject of the various Warren Hastings' properties is a large one, and may be left for discussion in a later article.

Turning to Upjohn's Map of Calcutta, 1792, we find, in what is now the southern part of the compound of Government House, two distinct buildings, each with its several offices. To the west there is the Council House; to the east Government House. Both face the Esplanade Row which at this date runs continuously from Chand Pal Ghat to Dhurrumtollah, and forms a thoroughfare known as the "Respondentia." A picture of this Government House is to be found in the series of twelve engraved views published by the elder Daniel in 1786-88. Grandpré, who visited Calcutta in the year 1790, writes:—

"The Governor-General of the English Settlements east of the Cape of Good Hope, resides at Calcutta. As there is no place yet built for him, he lives in a house on the Esplanade opposite the citadel. The house is handsome, but by no means equal to what it ought to be for a personage of so much importance. Many private individuals in the town have houses as good; and if the Governor were disposed to any extraordinary luxury, he must curb his inclination for want of the necessary accommodation of room. The house of the Governor of Pondicherry is much more magnificent."

It may seem strange, but it is the truth that this Government House did not belong to the Company. In the year 1788 the house was indeed occupied by Lord Cornwallis, but its owner was the famous ex-Naib Dewan, Muhammad Reza Khan, who in that year mortgaged the property to Captain Thomas Burgess, Jr. for Ct. Rs. 1,07,733-6-0. In 1793 Messrs. Dring, Cleland and Co. put up for sale by auction a house ("situated immediately to the northward of Sir William Jones, on the great road leading from the Old Court House to the Esplanade.") which had been "rented for sicca Rupees 500 per month by the Marquis Cornwallis for the residence of Lordship's Aide-de-Camps." Lord Cornwallis left Madras on his way Home on October 1793, and perhaps Sir John Shore, his successor, did not care to keep up the expense of a house for his A.-D.-C.'s. In 1788 Sir John Shore had been residing in a house to the north of "Government House."

We have observed that it is a curious fact that Government House of 1788 was not the property of the Company. It may be that by "Government" was still understood the Nawab or his Naib's Government. In this case the official residence of the Naib Diwan might have been called "Government House," although it was not the residence of the Company's Governor. In the days when the Company had at its disposal the finest sites in the town, its dread of burying its capital in buildings was so great, and so often and so pétulantly expressed, that, much to the Company's loss in the long run, the Company had to avail itself of speculations in house building exceedingly profitable to its servants in their private capacity.

The present Government House comes in for some severe criticism in Sir Charles D'Oyly's *Tom Raw* (written about 1824):—

"that noble edifice
The seat of Governments' and Wellesley's pride,
Type of the hairs that filled that noble head of his,
And the high horse he loved so well to ride,
't was built against the British powers allied,
When o'er the dams and banks of Leadenhall,
His grand munificence poured forth in its tide;

Directors' tears cemented each fair wall,
And joint-stock sighs but firmer knit each rising hall."

Of the dome of Government House, the poet says.

"'T is so superior
In every way to domes of brick and stone ;
It covers nought below ! but ripens sherry or
Madeira—a wood box perched up above
To aid proportion, and for dlumpiness atone.
Nothing was ever so deformed or useless
(Save, as we said before, for unripe Madeira),
Or any ornament that could amuse less
In such a classic age and tasteful era.
'Twas first suggested that a marble hero,
Sculptured by Bacon, should be placed to serve as
A vertex ; but somebody, seeing clearer,
Thought it might fall, and cried 'the Lord preserve us.'
So Pallas came—in wood—the clumsiest of Minervas."

"The marble hero" was, of course, the statue of Cornwallis, which if not exactly the sort of thing required to form a "vertex" to the dome of Government House, most certainly does not deserve its long imprisonment at the Town Hall. Sir Charles D'Oyly refers to an artist of some note in Wellesley's day.

"Poor Wollaston made sphinxes (near like dogs),
With lion's rump and maiden's bust and vests,
When he was ordered to cut off their swelling chests."

The author tells us in his notes that, *after* the building was completed, a plan for a magnificent staircase was produced, but rejected on the architects' advice.

"In such a palace one might have expected
A splendid staircase as at home we find.
In noble edifices well erected,
And made in spacious terms and sweeps to wind ;
But here, for sooth there is nothing of the kind,
It certainly a strange and very rare case is.
One might suppose the architect was blind,
When there was so much room, and lots of spare places,
To build four little miserable staircases.

We are next reminded of a departed glory :

From hence the marble hall, in long perspective
Displays its grandeur—parted in the centre
By double rows of columns, intersective—

The heights' deficient—plague on the inventor;
But this, he said, he could n't at all prevent, or
Would n't, which is precisely the same thing.
The ceilings were depicted by a painter
Called Creuse—adorned with gods in many a string,
In imitation of basso-relieving.
But classic taste gave way to the vile white ant,
While taste was diametrically opposite.
Thus in a few short years they ate outright
What cost the Bengal Government between
Seventy and eighty thousand good rupees, I ween."

It will be remembered that the Mayor's Court sat in the charity school of St. Ann's Church. The school house for this reason acquired the name of the Court House—a name that lives on in Old Court House Street. The Court House has made way for St. Andrew's Kirk, but to this day Government make an annual payment to the Free School in respect to this piece of land. The Judges of the Supreme Court held their sessions at the Court House for some years, and here it was that Nuncomar stood his trial for forgery. On January 2nd, 1782, Mr. Justice Hyde records:—

> "We sat this day for the first time at the New Court House, which has been taken by the Company for the use of the Court at the monthly rent of two thousand five hundred rupees. The New Court House is near Chand Paul Ghat, and is near the road which bounds the Esplanade on the side. The house is the property of Archibald Keir and is let by him to the Company for five years."

Archibald Keir, who had come to India as surgeon on board the *Godolphin* came up to Bengal from Madras in the fateful year 1757, and for a time acted as secretary to the Council at Fulta. He deserves to be remembered as one of the pioneers of mining in north-western Bengal. The fact of immediate interest is that even in 1782 the Supreme Court met in a hired house, and it may also be stated that the house was shortly after the lease mortgaged by its owner. In page 101 of the last edition of "Echœs from Old Calcutta," Dr. Busted quotes from Mr. Fay in 1780: "On the first day of every term the professional gentlemen all met at a public breakfast at Mr. Justice Hyde's and went thence in procession to the Court House." The Doctor comments: "Fortunately the procession had not far to go, as Hyde lived next to the Supreme Court, in a house on the side of the present Town Hall, for which he is said to have paid twelve hundred rupees a month." As a matter of fact the procession in 1780 would have had to go a fairly considerable distance—perhaps up Council House Street, turning off to the east on approaching the Holwell monument.

It may be taken for granted that the reader is more or less familiar with the engraved views of places of interest in Calcutta published by Thomas Daniell, the elder of the two artists, in 1786—88. One of the best known of these is the view of "the Great Tank" (*i.e.*, the tank in what is now called Dalhousie Square.) The reader will find a half-tone reproduction of this view in Wilmot Corfield's useful "Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days" (to be purchased at Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co.), or in Miss. Blechynden's "Calcutta Past and Present." In regard to this view Miss. Blechynden remarks: "There were at this period no houses between the Old or Mission Church and the tank, Dalhousie Square." This is correct, but it must be observed that the house which is now the place of business of Messrs. Smith Stanistreet can be seen in Daniel's picture, while in a line to the south there are no houses on the site of what is now the western side of Mission Row. The Old Mission Church with its steeple (destroyed by the earthquake of 1897) is fully seen from a point of view on the south side of the Tank. There is a view of the Old Court House, attributed by Miss Blechynden to Lieut.-Colonel Mark Wood, and by Wilmot Corfield to Colonel Francis Swain Ward, which shows us the old house now occupied by Messrs. Smith Stanistreet as it stood sometime prior to 1792, and here again the ground immediately in front of the Old Church lies open to the street that skirts the eastern side of the Tank.

We will now go back to William Wells' plan of Fort William and part of the city of Calcutta in 1753,. Messrs. Smith Stanistreet's house has not yet been built. The first building to be met with at the south-west end of what is now Lal Bazar is the Play House. To the south, on the eastern side of what is now Mission Row, we note two houses, one that of Mr. Brown, and the other that of Lady Russell. Mr. Dick Swiveller, when he was trying to let his room to the little old gentleman, urged that the window afforded, "an uninterrupted view across the street." My Lady Russell can claim for her verandah that it affords an unimpeded view across the Tank to Old Fort William. The reader will, if he has not already had the honour of being presented to her Ladyship, be glad to be introduced, but before doing so turn up his "Who's Who in Old Calcutta." He will discover that Lady Russell, the daughter of Zachariah Gee, merchant in Bengal, married on February 15th, 1728, Sir Francis Russell, 6th Baronet. Sir Francis, born about 1697, was a grandson of Frances, the favourite daughter of Oliver Cromwell, and a nephew of Sir John Russell, the 2nd Baronet, Governor of Fort William. Sir Francis, who was Chief at Cassimbazar in 1728, Member of Council in 1731, and was Chief at Cassimbazar in 1741, died at Calcutta on February 26th, 1743. His widow, whose house we are now visiting, was married again, on November 30th, 1744, to Mr. Thomas Holmes, merchant, but it is a point of etiquette to address her still as Lady Russell. Our visit, of course, must not be later than

June 26th, 1756, for on that day of ill-fate, her Ladyship is to be one of the refugees from the sacked city to Fulta where she is to die.

On January 16th, 1761, the Bengal Council write to the Court of Directors:—

> "The house purchased of Mr. Carvalho being the most convenient for the Governor, Mr. Vansittart now possesses it, and there being great occasion for a house for the Commanding Officer of our Troops in Bengall, near the Fort and Barracks [*i.e.*, the Old Fort] we purchased that belonging to Mr. Holmes, as being extremely proper for that purpose, for current Rupees 20,000, the lowest price stipulated by that Gentleman to his Attorneys in Bengall."

The Court, of course, complained that too much money had been spent, but I am inclined to believe that the house remained the official residence of the Commander-in-Chief till General Clavering died in it on Saturday, August 30th, 1777.

A few words may be said as to the history of General Clavering's House. On July 23rd, 1778, the Company sold it to Mr. Charles Weston for Sa. Rs. 34,000. In the year 1790 the lease of the house at Cossipur occupied by the Charity School expired, and the Charity School was amalgamated with the newly-founded Free School. The Vestry of St. John's and the Governors of the Free School, therefore, hired on a two years' lease "the large house with six biggahs and six cottahs of compound" from Charles Weston and Constantia, his wife. It was in 1795 that the present Free School property was purchased from Mr. Louis Baretto for the sum of Sa. Rs. 26,800.

In Lady Russell's time the space fronting her house was known as the Rope Walk. In May 1767, John Zachary Kiernander commenced building his Beth Tephillah, "the Old or Mission Church," the architect being M. B. de Mevell, a Dane. The Church was solemnly opened for Divine Service on Advent Sunday 1770, and had cost some Rs. 60,000—a sum, we are told by Archdeacon Hyde, "largely provided out of the fortune of the missionary's second wife." Kiernander was, as will be seen, one of the founders of Chowringhi, and the Military Hospital in Bhowanipur remains as a monument to his activities as a building contractor.

A little to the north-east of Kiernander's church was the Old Play House. Readers of the works of Mr. S. C. Hill and Dr. C. R. Wilson will remember the important part which the defence of the Play House played in the history of the seige of Calcutta in 1756. In March 1768 the Court of Directors, with their usual generosity, authorised its conversion into a place of worship, "as it was built by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of Calcutta," but this was not done. In 1776 a new Play House was erected on the ground now merged in the New China Bazar, but more of this will be said in another

article. In 1781 we find that the Old Play House had come into the possession of Mr. Robert Dobinson who as the Company's auctioner—Vendu Master—seems to have had unique opportunities of acquiring valuable properties by methods of a kind not very well understood outside his own particular department. By Dobinson the Old Play House was mortgaged to one Robert Palk, of whom I would crave to say a few words before continuing my story.

In the South Park Street Burial-ground there is a monument with an inscription which Mr. Rudyard Kipling has recalled in his *City of Dreadful Night*:—

In Memory of **Lucia,**
wife of Robert Palk, Esq.
Daughter of the Rev. Dr. Stonhouse;
Born at Northampton, November 26th, 1747, deceased, June 22nd 1772.

What needs the emblem; what the plaintive strain;
What all the art that sculpture e'er express'd,
To tell the treasure that these walls contain.
Let those declare it most who knew it best;
The tender pity she would oft betray
Shall be with interest at her shrine return'd;
Connubial love, connubial tears repay,
And Lucia lov'd shall still be Lucia mourn'd!

Tho' grief will weep and friendship heave the sigh;
Tho' wounded memory the fond tear shall shed;
Yet let not fruitless sorrow dim the eye:
To teach the living, die the sacred dead.
Tho' clos'd the lips, tho' stopp'd the tuneful breath,
The silent clay cold monitress shall teach,
In all th' alarming eloquence of death,
With double pathos to the heart shall preach,
Shall tell the virtuous maid, the faithful wife.
If young and fair, that young and fair was she.
Then close the useful lesson of her life.
And tell them what she is they soon must be.
" The treasure that these walls contain."

Those who have visited the old Dutch tombs at Chinsurah know that the dead were often buried not in the soil but in the monument itself. One would like to know more about the husband of Lucia. What relation was he to that Madras Chaplain, in deacon's orders, who became Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, in 1763, and after a career in Parliament as Member for Ashburton was created a baronet in 1772? Sir Robert Palk married in 1761, Anne Vansittart,

sister of Governor Henry Vansittart, and our Robert on June 12, 1770, married Lucia Stonhouse, while George Vansittart, one of the greatest of Calcutta landowners and a brother of the Governor, married "Sarah Stonhouse, daughter of the Rev. Sir James Stonhouse, Bart, of Radley." It was our Calcutta Robert Palk who on one occasion committed Nanda Kumar for trial. Besides owning 30 bigas of land in "Cheringay," Palk owned house property in the neighbourhood of what is now Old Court House Street.

But return to the Play House. In 1781 Dobinson had mortgaged it to Palk, but George Williamson, who had succeeded Dobinson as Vendu Master happened to know something of a bond to the Company, the payment of which Palk had evaded. The assistance of the Sheriff had to be invoked before Williamson could be induced to quit the Play House!

Fragments of the old theatre were extant till so late as the year 1908. In that year, by the kind permission of Messrs. Ralli Bros., I visited them in company with my friend M. C. F. Hooper, who most kindly took some photographs of the façade of this building, so historical on account of the events of 1756. A few months later every trace of it had disappeared.

To the east of the Old Play House, and fronting Lal Bazar, stood in the year 1784 the Old Collector's Cutchery. (In 1753 there had been a cutchery on the opposite side of the road.) East of the Cutchery was the Old Jail. Dr. Busteed quotes from a Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1782 the statement of Mr. Creassy, an ex-prisoner, "the gaol was an old ruin of a house, formerly the residence of some black native." The house in question had been utilised by the Council in the year 1712 for the reception of a Persian Ambassador who was on his way—a somewhat circuitous one—to the Court of the Great Moghul. As the Council visited the Ambassador to explain their grievance to the Emperor, they did as well as they could by their guest. Governor Russell himself went out to welcome him on his arrival at Govindpur, and for eight months he remained in Calcutta enjoying the Company's hospitality. On his departure in April 1713, he asked to be provided with "one piece of black cloth, 15 yards of fine lace, three fine hats and the other two white, and a black periwig," and in return for these amenities he undertook to do his utmost for the English at the Court of Delhi The house in which he had resided became known as "the Ambassador's house." Dr. Wilson, in his "Old Fort William," says that the house "stood at the corner of Lal Bazar and Mission Row." Mr. S. C. Hill with greater accuracy says that it stood on the south side of Lal Bazar just before the Bentinck Street crossing.

In the 1727 a Royal Charter was granted bestowing upon Calcutta the blessing of a Court of a Mayor and Aldermen. As a consequence the Council, on January 2nd resolved:

"There being wanting a proper place to hold the Mayor's Court, as well as a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and to make a Town Gaol: Agreed that the Ambassador's House and compound be appropriated for that service, and that a tax be levied on the inhabitants of this place to pay the same."

In their General Letter of February 2nd 1729, to the Court, the Council described the Ambassador's House as the Company's House and stated that it stood on the Company's books valued at Rs. 6,480. The proposal that the inhabitants should be taxed in order to purchase the house from the Company led to protests, and although the Justices ordered the inhabitants to be assessed, the Council, two years later, report that no assessment had been made. In 1732 the Council report:—

"They have sold the House commonly called the Embassadour's for 3,560 rupees reserving out of it a large piece of ground with brick buildings for a Town Gaol."

Out of this sum of Rs. 3,560, Rs. 200 only was paid to the Company, but we read that in 1733 "the statement of the black inhabitants for the Town Hall and Gaol had made them uneasy," and it would appear that in the end the Ambassador's House was not dismantled but utilised as Jail It had certainly been used for the Mayor's Court, for in the first volume of the Procceedings of that Court, December 16th, 1727 to December 1728, the heading runs "Courts held at the Ambassador's House." In 1746 the Sheriff reports:—

"The gaol of the Town of Calcutta wanting great repairs, I take the liberty to lay the same before you, and your Honour, etc. will please to give orders that the same may be repaired as at present it is hardly in a condition to secure the prisoners. The door frames to the condemned hold are quite rotten, as are also most of the windows and door panes throughout the prison. It is also leaky and the chunam dropt off in several places, which, if not repaired, will be in a much worse condition and consequently of greater expense to the Honourable Company."

Probably substantial repairs were effected, for after the siege of Calcutta, the jail stands valued at Rs. 7,000. In 1767 it is described in an official report "as very clean and wholesome; only wants a separate apartment for women to make it convenient." In 1778, however, it has fallen again into a ruinous state, and in November of that year the Council report to the Court their decision to build a new jail "at a greater distance from the town." It was not till the year 1782 that the Sheriff removed the prisoners from the Lal Bazar to the new jail on the maidan.

In the report of the Select Committee, already referred to, we have an account by Mr. Michael Hickey of the old Lal Bazar Prison:—

"In the middle of the gaol enclosure was a tank about 30 yards square in which the prisoners promiscuously bathed and washed their clothes. Europeans were generally indulged by the gaoler with permission to erect and live in small bamboo and matting huts near this tank; it would be impossible for any European to exist for any length of time within this prison. The stench was dreadful. There was no infirmary or provision for the sick that he ever heard of. Debtors and criminals were not separated, nor men from women (but of this he was not positive.) An old woman prisoner who begged of him said, in answer to his question, that she wanted money to buy water."

The Lall Bazar Prison, being under the jurisdiction of the Sheriff, was sometimes described as the County (incorrectly "Country") Jail in order to distinguish it from the Kotwal or "Harinbari" Jail, a House of Correction, under the magistrates. The latter place of incarceration was in the neighbourhood of what is still known as Harinbari Lane. In 1782 Mr. J. Hare, the then Sheriff, bargained with the Council that in return for the property of the two old jails in the town he would erect a new House of Correction, to the eastward of the New Jail on the Maidan, and this proposal was adopted Hare, however, having to leave Calcutta before he could execute his contract, John Prinsep, with a Mr. Scott as security, stepped into his place. On August 24, 1785 John Prinsep sells to Charles Crommelin the younger of Guttaul, for Sa. Rs. 72,000, a dwelling house, office, "boutique shops," and ground in the Lall Bazar, formerly known by the name of the Jail or Common Prison of Calcutta.

There can be no doubt that it was in the Lall Bazar Prison old Nanda Kumar was confined before his trial and execution. One of the witnesses at the trial, when asked if he had visited Nanda Kumar in the Jail, said "The gaol is in the same street with the cutchery. I went to the gaol one day." The Deputy Sheriff stated that there was "no other public place of confinement belonging to the Sheriff."

Hicky, the Father of Indian journalism, underwent his earlier period of confinement in the Lall Bazar Jail. "Not being able to pay the rent of a small brick house for my children," he writes in January 1783, "they have been till the Christmas holidays immured with me." He complains of a Lieutenant Gould for "assaulting his ears with the most gross and ungentlemanly abuse" It is worth noticing that in 1785 Messrs. Burrell & Gould had an auction room in close proximity to the Jail. In August 1783, Hicky dates his letters from "the Birje Jail"—*i.e.*, the Jail on the Maidan. These facts about the old jails were not known to the late Dr. Busteed.

In passing I should like to throw out a suggestion that the John Hare

who was Sheriff in 1782 may have been the Barrister John Hare, who was the detested companion of Mrs. Fay in the *Nathalia* in 1779, and who with his European shipmates was taken into captivity by Haidar Ali's Governor at Calicut. In any case, the following extract from a letter of Mr. Wm. Digges La Touche, Resident at "Bussora," and dated 1st July 1784, seems to refer to the former Sheriff of Calcutta:—

> "With the greatest concern, I inform you that Mr. John Hare, who arrived here the 3rd February by the "Bombay Grab," and who departed the 24th March for Aleppo by way of Bagdad, was attacked, robbed and murdered by the Arabs between this and Hillia, and that the "Nancy" packet, by which he forwarded from Bombay one of the packets which you (Warren Hastings and Council) entrusted to his care, was lost on the rocks of Scilly about the 28th February. Fortunately, however, the other was sent by a pair of messengers, who departed from hence the 14th February, and according to the London papers was received there the 13th April."

From the Impey correspondence at the British Museum I have learnt that John Hare was travelling home with a letter of introduction from the Chief Justice of Bengal to Lord Thurlow.

A curious point about Lal Bazar has recently come to my notice. I had for some time been puzzled by an old deed which describes a certain house property as bounded "on the north by a street which leads to the Loll Bazar, on the south by a street which leads to the Loll Bazar, and on the east by the Loll Bazar." The explanation seems to be afforded by the wording of another old document which mentions "a street leading to the Loll Bazar otherwise called Cossitullah Bazar." Can it have been that originally the Cossitullah ("Butcher's Row") was the Lal Bazar? It will be observed that I have said nothing so far about the house in Mission Row on which a tablet has been placed, under Lord Curzon's directions, stating that the house was the residence of Colonel Monson. Knowing well the scholarly care Lord Curzon exercised, and being familiar with the great pains taken by the late Dr. C. R. Wilson to furnish accurate information for Lord Curzon's benefit, I am indeed reluctant to express my scepticism as to the accuracy of the identification. I have, however, shown that in 1784 the ground in front of the Old Church was not built over, and I think anyone who inspects the building on which the tablet has been placed would not be inclined to think the house to be an ancient one. I have succeeded in obtaining a certain amount of information which may lead to the discovery of the whereabouts of Colonel Monson's residence, but for the present I can do nothing more than to confess that the tablet on the house in Mission Row is to me most unconvincting.

There is yet another fact to be recorded about the unimpeded view of the eastern side of Mission Row from the Great Tank in the eighties of the seventeenth century. From Cotton's "Calcutta Old and New" (p. 323) we learn that the ground now occupied by the business house of Messrs. Newman & Co., was granted by the Company by a *patta* to Mr. Charles Weston. In the *patta* the ground is described as "one biggah sixteen cottahs of the Company's Comarland," and the condition on which the grant is made is that the land is not to be built upon. In 1795 Weston sold the land with the prohibition against buildings still attached. It was not till 1806 that the prohibition was removed. In 1833 the house now occupied by Messrs. Newman & Co., was occupied by the Bengal Club.

In concluding this article I will quote from a letter written towards the close of the 18th Century by Mr. Wm. Johnson to his mother:—

> "We have taken up our residence again in Calcutta in a house where a Club called Selby's Club was once kept notorious to all gamblers, and will never be forgotton by poor John Mackenzie. However, as this may not lead you to the precise spot, it is southwards of the Mission or Old Kienander's Church, the next house in the same line on the southward to General Clavering's, which I know you recollect. To conclude, our house was built by Mr. Charles Child in 1775. It is an amazing large house, but we do not propose staying in it beyond December, as we are in hopes of getting a house in which in your time Noisy Campbell lived, to the north of the New Church and opens into the churchyard."

We discussed the history of historical buildings situated on the south side of Lal Baxar and the east side of what is now Mission Row. Now we will start out from the main gate in the east curtain of the Old Fort and visit the historical buildings on the north side of the Great Tank. Through this gate, on the morning of 21st June, have been brought the bodies of the victims of the Black Hole, and they have been thrown into the ditch of an unfinished ravelin and roughly covered with earth. These who at the present day challenge the veracity of Holwell's account of the Black Hole do not deny that a number of English prisoners of war did indeed die on the night of 20th June in the Black Hole Prison: there is no need for us to discuss in this place the question of numbers. Standing by this roughly made grave, and looking to the north we see the ruins of St. Anne's Church, standing where at the present day stands the octagonal building added to the long range of Writers' Buildings. We will not linger in order to recall the story of this first Anglican Church in Calcutta, for all that can be told about it has probably been already told us by Archdeacon Hyde in his fascinating but too little known work—"The Parochial Annals of Bengal." But as we

have in our hands Broome's "History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army," we will now consult his map. From the Church at the western end of what is now Writers' Buildings there are no houses fronting the Great Tank on its northern side till we get to the Charity School (or Court House) which stands where St. Andrew's Kirk now is, but it is clear that the space between the Church and the Charity School is in some way enclosed, and behind the enclosure, or enclosures, there is an unnamed street. We will inspect this street (now Lyon's Range), making our way round the west end of the Church compound.

We first come to a very large compound with a fine house belonging, we learn, to Mr. Richard Eyre. Proceeding up the street we find next on our left the house of a famous person whose name, at this time is anglicised as Omichund, but will in the year of grace 1917 be written Amirchand. After this comes a lane leading to the left, down which we shall not turn, but proceeding onward pass first the house of Mr. Coates and then that of Mr. Eyre's which, we notice, looks down into the Church compound, while the houses of Amichand and Messrs. Coates and Knox have an unimpeded view across the Great Tank.

This imaginary pilgrimage has been taken on the morning of June 21, 1756. On January the 2nd, 1757, Calcutta is recaptured by Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive. There is in January, 1757, no idea as yet of building New Fort William in Govindpur, but we must get the Old Fort made "defensible as our time will admit of, to prevent a second capture again." "To do this," write the Council on January 31st, "it is immediately necessary to level several of the houses near the Fort." Obviously St. Anne's Church must be pulled down, for in 1756 the enemy had placed a gun on its roof which commanded the Old Fort. The Fort must have its proper *glacis* and esplanade. Consequently Mr. Cruttenden's house (immediately to the north of the Fort and facing the river) and Mr. Eyre's house are erased. Amirchand's house also is levelled, for on November 17th, 1757 we find him successfully claiming Rs. 6,700 on account of the destruction of his house.

Something has been said as to the history of the Old Play House in the Lall Bazar. The New Theatre was built in 1775. Mr. R. C. Sterndale, in his "Account of the Calcutta Collectorate" gives a full list of the subscribers which includes the names of Warren Hastings, Colonel Monson, R. Barwell, Sir Elijah Impey and Justices Hyde, Chambers and Lemaistre. The ground obtained for the new theatre measured 6 bighas 19 cottahs and 12 chittacks. It was situated on the spot where formerly stood the house of Mr. Eyre, and the property is sold by Mr. John Cartier by whom, I take it, is meant John Cartier, Hastings' predecessor in the Governor's chair. The rent paid to the Collector's cucherry was Rs. 17-13-3.

Turning now to Upjohn's map, based on the survey of 1792-93, we see the Theatre clearly marked. To the north of it Old Fort Gaut Street, to the west Theatre Street, and to the south, Lyon's Range. Notices of this Theatre will be found in nearly all the well-known books relating to Old Calcutta *e.g.*, "Hartly House" and Mr. Fay's "Original Letters from India." With a tender memory for the wind-sails on its roof "to promote coolness by a free circulation of the air," we hasten on to the end of the building which came in 1808, when, after the actor had for some time been banised for the auctioneer, the Theatre was dismantled, and on its site Gopey Mohun Tagore "constructed several buildings that he intends for a new bazar, known by the name of the New China Bazar." The title-deeds of Messrs. James Finlay & Co., would probably furnish the details of a very interesting story.

It was the Writers' Buildings which kept off the south breeze from the Theatre and rendered necessary the wind-sails. On the 18th of November a *patta* was granted to Thomas Lyon "for the accommodation of the junior servants of the Company for two pieces or parcels of waste ground to the north of the Great Tank, situated or lying and being between the Old Fort, the Great Tank, the Court House, and the New Play House, and separated by the great road leading from Mr. Holwell's Monument by the south front of the Court House to the Salt Water Lake, and known by the name of the "Great Bungalo Road."

Mrs. Fay refers to E. R. Jackson—"a fine noble looking young man, a Lieutenant in the Army, lately married to a very pretty little woman, who came out in the same ship under the protection of her mother, as did Miss C[hantr]y, a most amiable and interesting young lady who now resides with them." The "pretty little woman" was Miss Phœbe Tutting, and the marriage took place on 28th January 1779. She died on 20th November 1795, and there is a grim pathos about the sale of "the house near the Theatre" a few weeks after the burial. The beauty of Miss Chantry, who married Captain Archibald Montgommerie on 10th May 1781, is commemorated by verses in *Hicky's Gazette*.

The name of Mr. Solomon Hamilton has been much before us in the present article, and it appears very frequently in the Register of Calcutta Deeds, as dealings in house property seem to have been one of his principal pre-occupations. He was a member of that time-honoured Masonic corporation—Lodge, Industry and Perseverance. The "Bengal Obituary" preserves the inscription on his tomb in the South Park Street, Burial-ground :—

SOLOMONIS HAMILTON.

Armigeri Advocati Hoc Monumento memoriam.
Coluit Liberorum Amor Natus in Hibernia.

September MDCCLIII Obiit. Eheu., Calcutta, Multia amatus dinque deflendus, Mort MDCCCXX.

In the first of this series of "Notes on Old Calcutta" we observed that St. Andrew's Kirk covers the site once occupied by the Charity School of St. Anne's Church. In the year 1713 we find that Chaplain Samuel Briercliffe had set on foot the idea of founding a Charity School, but he seems to have met with discouragement, and the idea was for the time abandoned. Perhaps it was Chaplain Joshua Thomlinson—whose ministry in Calcutta lasted just four months, he dying on the 30th May 1720,—who revived the idea. In the will drawn up on his death-bed, he left Rs. 80 "towards setting up a Charity School," and his wife, who died on the 7th September following, left "forty rupees towards a Charity School in Calcutta." These were small, but good beginnings. Archdeacon Hyde, in a rather puzzling way, quotes the following two sentences from the "First Annual Report of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge," A.D. 1773. Appendix III:—

"An eminent merchant at Fort William in Bengal, by a letter, dated 3rd January 1734, thanks the Society for their letter of 6th March 1730-31, and the packet of books accompanying it.

"That their Charity School-house at Calcutta is now finished and it is a handsome spacious building which he hopes may answer the use it is designed for, at least he shall contribute all he can towards it."

Since the Archdeacon quoted this passage in his "Parochial Annals of Bengal" (published in 1901) the following extract from a General Letter from Bengal to the Court, dated 2nd February 1729, has come to light:—

"98. Have set on foot a Charity School and for that purpose raised Rs. 23,709-12-3, and appointed the President and Council for the time being to be Trustees."

In the year 1731-32 (?) Chaplain Gervas Bellamy, who, it will be remembered, perished in the Black Hole in 1756, was able to refer to the "very handsome and commodious edifice" erected for a charity school in which eight boys are maintained and clothed after the manner of the Blue-Coat boys in Christ's Hospital."

A number of myths cluster round this old Charity School. Miss Bletchynden, for instance, writes:—

"Mr. Richard Bourchier, a member of the Calcutta Council and Master Attendant, afterwards Governor of Bombay, took a leading part in founding the school; and when shortly after, a Mayor's Court was established in Calcutta, this gentleman built a Court House for its accommodation, which he made over to Government on condition

that they paid £480 a year as rent to the funds of the Charity School."

It may very well be the case that Richard Bourchier is the "eminent merchant" to whom reference has been made, and we need not refuse to give him the credit of having subscribed so largely to the project for a school that his name not undeservedly has become closely associated with the foundation of the school, but the assertion that he built the Old Court House and assigned its rent as an endowment is pure error.

The Charity School, in fact, was built by public subscription and perhaps by the aid of a fund known as the Charity Stock. Hyde tells us that the Charity Stock originated in fines inflicted "upon English officials of the factories who remained out late at night, who swore profanely, or who neglected attendance at Divine worship." Passing into the management of the Select Vestry, the fund came to be increased by church collections, special donations, and the like, but Mr. Hyde is not altogether certain as to the connection between the School and the Charity Fund. It is certain however, that in 1787 the Select Vestry were unable to account for the origin of the Charity Fund. In a minute dated 28th of June of that year they say "on the reports of others," that the Fund

> "is to have commenced in the Restitution money granted by the Nawab Jaffir Ally Cawn in consequence of the demolition of the old Church in 1756 when Calcutta was taken by Surajah Dowla. The amount, which is not easily ascertained, was converted to the use of a charitable institution existing at that time for the support and education of twenty boys, the children of British subjects in indigent circumstances."

Hyde was able to point out that no claim was made for restitution on the part of either the church or the school-house. The Vestry continue :—

> "The famous Omichund is reported to have made a donation to this charity of twenty or thirty thousand rupees, but no certain account has been kept of it. Omichund bequeathed to the charity the rent of a house at one period for the Charity School but afterwards let to the Company under the name of the Town Hall. It is known by the name of the Old Court House, and has undergone various additions and improvements at the Company's expense, and the expense of the inhabitants."

The fact that Omichund was a benefactor of the Foundling Hospital in London may have suggested the idea that he was the founder of the Calcutta Charity School.

The text of the *patta* will be found in full in Sterndale's "Account of the Calcutta Collectorate." Mr. Sterndale tells us that he found the copy "so

faded as to be undecipherable," but that it was "restored by the aid of a solution of nut galls." He also quotes from a deed of trust, dated the 19th June, 1787, a document which apparently revealed to him the fact that in 1789 the property had come into the possession of Richard Barwell. "I have not," he writes, "been able to discover how the transfer from Thomas Lyon to Richard Barwell took place, whether by sale, or whether as appears possible, the transaction was a *benamee* one in the first instance." The problem has been solved. Lyon had had a five-year lease from the Company, and at the expiration of the five years he sold the building to Barwell, who made over the property to trustees (of whom Sir Elijah Impey was one) to hold on behalf of his children. In June 1783 the Company renewed the lease for another five years. It would seem that Lyon had let the nineteen houses of which Writers' Buildings originally consisted to the Company for Rs. 3,800 *per mensem*, and Barwell carried on this arrangement.

If we turn to Upjohn's Map we notice that in 1792 there were in fact three ranges of buildings included under the definition of Writers' Buildings. The story of the origin of the first range has been told. The building of the second—as a "range of boutiques." *i.e.*, shops—was ordered by Barwell on the eve of his departure from Bengal, and Lyon received sicca Rs. 40,000 for the work. Mr. Sterndale truly comments: "If Mr. Richard Barwell could revisit the scene of his early successes, he would hardly recognise his new row or range of buildings, as they now still exist, under the mark of Mr. E J. Martin's superb facade."

It is worth while to note while the name of Lyon is still before us that Calcutta probably owes not a few of its oldest houses to that enterprising builder. I have recently come across a reference in 1784 to a "new house erected and built by Mr. Thomas Lyon lately in the occupation of Mr. John Zoffany, portrait painter," but so far I have not been able to discover its where-abouts. In the volume of "Dinajpur District Records," published by the Government of Bengal, I have included a curious correspondence between the Collectors of Dinajpur and Rungpur relative to a brave but unsuccessful attempt to compel the Tista River to return to its original bed. Mr. Lyon was the contractor employed. Mr. Sterndale, in a lecture delivered at the Town Hall many years ago, stated that James Philip Lyon, who perished in the horrible massacre of Patna in 1763, was the second son of Thomas, Eighth Earl of Strathmore of Glannis, and he added: "More than twenty years ago, I met in Upper Bengal two old gentlemen—twin brothers—whose similarity of habits, modes of thought, voice, features and costumes were sources of amusement to their acquaintances who bore the distinctive family names of Thomas and Patrick Lyon, and the elder of whom claimed to to be rightful Earl of Strathmore."

Dr. Busteed has extracted from *Mackrabie's Journal* and the *Francis Memoirs* references to three houses occupied by Philip Francis (he was not knighted till 1806). Francis soon after his arrival occupied a "rather mean house like a barn, with bare walls and not a single glass window pane," for which he paid £500 a year. In March, 1775, Mackrabie writes "Mr. Francis' house is surrounded with mosques and pagodas where they make, night and day such a cursed clatter with drums, cymbals, horns and pans, you would think a legion of devils were keeping jubilee." The second house is the Lodge at Alipur, about which we need not say anything for the present. On February 21, 1776, the same scribe records: "We have at last engaged a capital house, the best in the town; but such a rent £100 a month is enormous; neighbour Collings and I must contribute towards it." A month later he tells us "there is a drawing-room in the upper story about 50 feet long, a dinning-room below as large, besides two spacious halls and a suit of three rooms upon each flour to the east and west, that is, fourteen rooms in all. 'Tis by far the largest, loftiest and most superb house in the place."

Tradition has identified this house with the Royal Exchange Building which was demolished about three years ago. Dr. Busteed has adduced the evidence of a witness at the trial in Calcutta in 1778 who recognised the defendant as "Mr. Francis who lived behind the Play House." In a deed dated April 20th, I find a house described as "bounded on the north by a road or passage leading to the warehouse of Messieurs Croftes and Johnson, on the south by the dwelling house of Philip Francis Esquire, on the east by a house late the property of William Swallow deceased, and on the west by the street or high road." This house had "formerly belonged to Mr. Page Keble and the Company's Comar land."

The description requires a little working out. It shows that the house in question stood with a street or high road to the west, and as Francis's house was immediately to the south, that house must also have had a street on the west. This fits in with the tradition which identifies the late Royal Exchange building with Francis's house. If Swallow Lane is derived from the house of Captain Swallow the identification seems to be established.

To the north of Francis's house then there was a house at one time occupied by the Master Attendant, Mr. Page Keble. Now if Keble was occupying this house in 1778 we know where the "Red House" occupied by G. F. Grand and his wife, the future Princess de Talleyrand was, for on the night when Francis invaded the Grand's house, "Mr. Keble called from the verandah of his house adjoining to know what was the cause of the disturbance." All these three houses would lie along the eastern side of Clive Street, Francis's to the south, beyond it to the north, Page Keble's, then a passage leading to a warehouse, and then the Grand's "Red House."

P 16031

Mr. Lyon's *patta* for Writers' Buildings refers to "a road 52 feet wide leading from the south railing of the Play House by Mr. Huggins' house in the China Bazar." I am afraid these details may be rather dull reading, but on them depends the establishment of facts about Old Calcutta of considerable interest.

On 4th November 1785, we find Solomon Hamilton selling, for sicca Rs. 30,000, "a newly erected dwelling-house, shops and godowns, bounded on the east by the ruins of "an old messuage" formerly in possession of James Huggins deceased, on the north and west by another house and compounds occupied by S. Hamilton himself, and on the south by a public road (*i.e.*, Lyon's Range). Two years later Solomon Hamilton bought back for the same sum the "newly erected house," but it is with the house and compound on the north and west with which we are now concerned. Is this house the old house referred to in a passage (October 1795) from a private diary quoted by Miss Blechynden, in which reference is made to "Hamilton's house behind the Writers' Buildings?" "Williamson said it was Government House when he came out, but believes that it was taken for that purpose merely because it had doors and windows in it: the Mohammedans had burnt those of the other houses at the capture of Calcutta."

A deed dated 12th December 1785, records that Edward Rowland Jackson sold to Solomon Hamilton for Current Rs. 36,000, a house and ground "near the New Theatre, bounded on the north side thereof by the house lately occupied by Jacob Rider, Esq., on the south by the dwelling-house of Patrick Cantwell, merchant, on the east by the house of Mrs. Gould, and on the west by the public road." This suggests that in 1785, "the best house in town" was occupied by Mr. Cantwell. In passing, I pause to note that E. R. Jackson was the eldest son of Dr. Rowland Jackson, of whom much is told us by Sydney Grier in the *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, and who was buried in the South Park Street Cemetry, aged 63 years, in March 1784.

It is strange that the Omichund and Bourchier myths should have gained so much credit, for a letter written by Charles Weston, a son of a Registrar of the Mayor's Court dated May 12th, 1787, gives the truth:—

> "The Old Court House (called the town-hall was formerly a lower roomed house, and I always heard that it belonged to the Charity; the first foundation whereof, I believe, was by subscription and its support also. The charity boys were loged and educated there, and the whole expense of twenty children, I believe, did not exceed Rs. 2,4000 about 40 or 50 years ago. I mean current or Arcot rupees as the siccas were not current till after the year 1757 when the English gained the battle of Plassey."

We have noticed that Omichund did indeed have a house in the close neighbourhood of the Court House, but this house was dismantled in 1757, and most certainly was not the Court House.

It has been seen in our second article, that the first home of the Mayor's Court was at the Ambassador's House in Lall Bazar. It is not known at what date the Mayor's Court began to make use of rooms in the Charity School, but in 1753 we find a rent of 30 Arcot rupees *per mensem* being paid to the Trustees of the Charity School. In the year 1762 the rent paid by the Court was Rs. 2,000 per annum. In 1778, when the Supreme Court was making use of the building, the rent had risen to Rs. 800 a month, the amount which at the present day is drawn from the Treasury by the Governors of the Free School which has recently become "St. Thomas' School." At some date unknown the children were removed from the school, while the building was let out for the use of the Court, it was also let out, when not required by the Court, to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal, and also for such purposes as balls, assemblies, lotteries etc.

We look at the pictures which show us Old Court House with added interest when we remember that it was here that Nanda Kumar, an adept in the arts of conspiracy and forgery, stood for trial in the year 1775. On 2nd January 1782, as we have seen, the Supreme Court held its first session in the house hired from Dr. Archibald Keir, on the Esplanade. In the year 1792 the Select Vestry of St. John's in consideration of Rs. 5 a piece to each of the six signatories to the deed, sold the property to Government, reserving to themselves and assigns as trustees and the Select Vestry aforesaid a "certain fee from rent" of sicca ruppes 800 a month. Government ordered the demolition of the building which had been reported to have become unsafe. The Government assigned the site for the erection of St. Andrew's Kirk, the value of the land being estimated at Rs. 30,000.

No. II.

The garden of Government House has cut the Esplanade into two sections, but in 1792 Upjohn's map shows us the Esplanade as one continuous thoroughfare from Chandpal Ghat to Dhurrumtollah. And here I must enter a word of caution. To-day by the "Esplanade" we mean to denote the two Esplanades, East and West, which are situated to the north of the Maidan, but historically speaking the Maidan is the *glacis* of New Fort William, and not only the present "Esplanades" but Chowringhi and that part of the Lower Circular Road which leads from the Calcutta Club past the hospitals to Kidderpore Bridge belong to the historical Esplanade. To give an instance of the extended meaning of the word esplanade I will refer to a letter of Colonel Henry Watson, dated July 26th, 1784, in which he recommends a site for a "military Buryal Ground," at a place "near the

corner of the Esplanade contiguous to the Bridge leading to Mr. Livius' Gardens." Mr. Livius' Gardens is the residence of the Collector of the 24-Parganahs at Alipur, and the whereabouts of the Military Cemetery do not need to be indicated.

Sir Charles D'Oyly in *Tom Raw* (written about 1824) takes us over much of the ground we have been examining this morning. The two Esplanades, East and West, from the "Respondentia,"

> "Which in pristine ages
> Afforded petty merchants your assistance
> To calculate on gain—in all its stages,
> And settle policies and ship's assurance."

Looking eastwards from the river, one saw to the left

> A colonade of most excessive length
> Amidst this splendid range the eye embraces;
> It is the Court House, provident in strength,
> But quite devoid of architectural graces;
> And further up (not more than fifty paces)
> Its contrast the Town Hall—that far-famed Hall,
> In which there are of Graecia's school the traces,
> But by its crackings disposed to fall
> Till patched up, and well tried by many a festive fall."

The Court House mentioned in the preceding lines is, of course, not the Old Court House, but the building which was the immediate predecessor of the present High Court erected in 1872.

W. K. FIRMINGER.

[*To be continued.*]

Review.

LIFE and Adventures of Joseph Emin 1726—1809. Written by himself. Second Edition, with portrait, correspondence, reproductions of original letters and map. Edited by his great-great-grand-daughter, Amy Apcar, Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1918. Size 10" × 7½" × 2". Price Rs. 8.

[*The entire proceeds of the sale of this book will be devoted to the needs of the soldiers of Great Britain crippled in the war for Liberty.*]

This is a fascinating autobiography of a man who dreamed dreams of a regenerated Armenia; who lived a life of many and strange adventures; who, if he had depended a little less on others and more on himself, might have carved out a Kingdom; and who died in Calcutta, the forebear of many well known people. He had something of the spirit of his great-great-grandfather who, at the ripe age of a hundred and ten, armed himself with a club to meet five blood thirsty Janizaries and accounted for two before they shot him. He made friends everywhere, such was his personal magnetism, and nearly everyone loved him, except perhaps the bishops of his own church, and even they were impressed for a while. But he made great demands on his friends, and did not hesitate to say what he thought, when they grew tired of his exactions. "An astonishing creature" wrote his friend Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, "to take thus with all sorts of people." They were indeed all kinds, from school boys to earls in England, from the rudest mountaineers to princes throughout the wild districts of Tiflis to Bagdad.

Now his great-great-grand-daughter, revering his memory, as he did that of his great-great-grand-father, has edited a second edition of his life, supplementing it with letters between him and his friends, to show that his own estimate of himself was not so far wrong after all. To these letters the authoress has added notes to deal with most of the people mentioned in the autobiography and the letters; a short account of the five Meliks of Karabagh, the last independent descendents of old Armenian royal houses; and particulars of byegone Armenians of Calcutta, of whom many are related by blood or marriage to Joseph Emin. The history as shown by the genealogical tables is thus carried down from 1522 or 1537 to the present day. Of course there are errors here and there, for even grave-stones and other works of reference are not infallible. The Venerable Archdeacon Firminger, whose help the authoress gratefully acknowledges, has pointed out that J. Peach was not a "governor" but a "general."

Such inaccuracies do not affect the warmth with which the general reader will hail the book.

Much has been written of Western Asia, of the kingdoms that in forgotten numbers shared that land before and during Mohammedan supremacy, of the fluctuating tribes of very varying wildness and civilisation that alternated between raids and flight. Armenia once bulked large but now its country is shared between Persia, Turkey and Russia, the latter having taken over Georgia shortly after Emin was active in the second half of the eighteenth century. Emin strived for much, but effected little in reality; he passed through history and like many others has been almost forgotten. But his life will give a clearer indication than many books of the conditions in that distressful country. Even if the reader is not interested in that aspect, he can take the book as an absorbing romance of adventure, or as an ingenuous presentation of the thoughts, feelings and desires of a very frank and unsophisticated being—the human document of a man who won through a hard life to a peaceful ending without attaining his heart's desire.

Emin was of the East, but he passed some of the hardest times of his life amidst Western men, appreciating their outlook on life, yet always wanting to use the hyperbolic expressions of his own side of the world, the *Asiatick style of panegyrick* as Sir William Jones told him. Yet throughout he was buoyant for himself and only sorry for those who did not meet his desires. What could be more delightful than his dealings with the merchant Mussess his relation, servant and companion, eleven years before :—

> Emin had not been in his house fifteen days, when, in conversation he had the baseness to use the following words to the face of Emin, who had been the cause of his superficial learning "Now you are so humbled that you come to my house to be beholden to me." At which unbecoming Jewish address, Emin was all on fire, and got up immediately to reward him accordingly, but the poor creature began to tremble without being touched, and from walking up and down the hall with a domineering attitude, sat himself down in a chair almost exhausted, and becoming quite as weak as when he was a servant to Emin, begged his forgiveness. Emin forgave him freely. As it was night Emin said nothing to him; but the next morning he left the habitation of the ungrateful Mussess, and took a house at fifteen rupees a month, without a rupee in his pocket. But a countryman of his, named Hacob, though to poor in circumstances to lend him any sum of money, made him coolly welcome to eat every day in his house some rice and curry.

In his early days, like the Japanese who smuggled themselves out of their country a century later, Emin saw the only chance of regeneration was to be found in England, but he managed to obtain a reluctant assent to his journey. For five years he struggled with adversity, often on the verge of starvation, but always too proud to return with a confession of failure to his father and comfort. At last, through some dealings over

an Arab horse, he found a patron in Lord Northumberland, who "shed tears over his moving story," introduced him to many friends, and put him in the way of seeing some active service in war. With that experience, meagre as it was, he determined to get to Armenia, where he hoped to move Heraclius, Prince of Georgia, to head the movement for the liberation of his country. On his way he received vociferous offers of support from the peasantry and was not inclined to minimise what he obtained. The prince at first seemed favourable but war, bloody war, did not greatly appeal to him, especially after the advice of Simon of Erivain, Catholicus of the Armenian Church. Emin looked on the prince as Mr. Facing-both-ways, and on Simon as his enemy, like any other adventurer who sees his plan being thwarted. Naturally the authoress sympathises with Emin, but she seems scarcely fair to Simon, who really was a far-sighted and a learned man.

For a dozen years he wandered about the country, raising armies on paper, receiving kindnesses and offers of support from every man, but never able to bring himself to a point where he would trust himself. By his own version he did good to everyone, so that even the Mahommadans wanted him to lead them, but he would not desert his own religion. It was all talk and travel. More and more his hosts desired to pass him on, either tiring of him or fearing his interminable intrigue. He hints that Simon was in favour of his suppression, so he settled down at Julfa, married and raised hostages to fortune. "But Emin was infatuated and could not be persuaded" as he says himself and he was always restless to be striving for his country which would have none of him. And when he ends his tale, he is in the Bengal Army, doubtless still dreaming of a free Armenia, ignorant of massacres yet to come, and with never a vision of the League of Nations or the extension of the Pax Brittanica. He would have fought for the liberty of his country if he could, and it is sure that he would be glad and proud of his great-great-grand daughter who has worked for his pious memory and for the soldiers of Great Britain crippled in the war for Liberty of the World.

H. G. GRAVES.

Editor's Notes.

WITH reference to "Marriages in Bengal 1786-92," in Vol. XVI. p. 44, it may be noted that Marianne Philpot who married J. E. Harington and Anne Philpot who married Thomas Calvert were sisters, their brother was Lieut.-General Philip Philpot who served in the 1st Mysore War in the 76th Foot, was wounded at Seringapatam (1792), was transferred to the 24th (then the 27th) Light Dragoons, and served with the latter Regiment in Lord Lake's campaign against the Marathas, being present at Aligarh, Lasuarree, Dieg, Bhurtpore, .etc. He served in the Pindari War, and commanded the Cavalry Brigade in the battle and siege of Nagpur and Mahidpur. He returned to England in 1818, and died at Kensington on 30th March 1843. These facts were kindly communicated to the late Editor by the General's great grandson, Major-General Sir A. H. Bingley, K.C.I.E., C. B. now, Secretary, Army Department, Government of India.

In regard to No. 4 of the same series, Ann Cooper was the daughter of George Cooper, a Surgeon, who died 15th February, 1798. Major-General Cooper, said to have died at Dinapur, 27 August, 1847, was a brother of this bride, and also of Elsie Kennedy Cooper, who on June 16, 1798, married Duncan Campbell, Factor in the Company's Service, at St. John's Church, Calcutta. The witnesses who signed the register on the latter occasion, were F. Macnaghten, William Dunkin and C. Moore.

In an article contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* November 1917, Sir Richard C. Temple tells us that the family of the Founder of Calcutta belonged to Lancashire, and are said to have assumed the name of their dwelling places in Leyland Hundred in that County—Charnock Richard, Heath Charnock and Charnock Gogard. The writer gives the will of Richard Charnocke, dated April 2nd, 1663, in connection with which probate was given to Stephen Carnocke on 2nd June, 1663, with power to issue the same to Job, the fellow executor, on his return to England. Sir Richard Temple is inclined to identify Stephen Charnock with the bearer of that name who was chaplain to Henry Cromwell.

Mr. A. F. C. De Cosson writes from the Union Club, Alexandria, Egypt :—

The following copied from a tablet on the wall of the Cloisters of Wells Cathedral, may be of interest :—

Sacred to the Memory of Mary
Elder daughter of Lord and Lady Francis Seymour*
first married to John Hyde, Esqr., one of
the Judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta
afterwards to John Payne, of Droxford, Hants, Esqr.
her mortal remains are deposited in the vault of the
new burial ground belonging to
the Parish of St. George, Hanover Square, Middlesex,
she died the 12th of April, 1814, Aged 62
&c. &c.
John Payne departed this life
March 10th 1819, Aged 56.

* Lord Francis Seymour, Dean of Wells, died 1799.

Padre Maestro Fray Seb. Manrique in Arakan (1629—1635).

Translated from the Spanish by the REV. H. HOSTEN, S. J.

[Continued from Vol. XIII, Pt. II, No. 26.]

CHAPTER XVII.

WHAT ELSE HAPPENED TO US UNTIL THE MOGO KING SENT US TO THE CITY OF ARRACAN.

Col. 1, *infra.* The King's answer to me, which I have just related in the previous chapter, consoled us greatly. We attributed it all to a special favour of God, and rendered Him thanks for having delivered us from so grave and evident a danger. The next day I despatched an express to the Portuguese and other Christians at Dianga, and told them of our success in the following letter:—

"Gentlemen and very dear brethren in Christ,—Gratitude is a virtue so highly esteemed by the Heavens, that their ordinary motion itself teaches
Col. 2, *infra.* it us; we find the same / gratitude in the signs and planets, whose continual influences vivify the plants; the Sun, too, in thankfulness for the benefits it receives from the earth, which sends up the dense vapours on which the elements live and are sustained, preserves and augments it. I omit the examples of gratitude which we find on earth in the return of kindness made by the rudest and fiercest animals; those Roman Amphitheatres, so celebrated by the ancients, proved it enough in the case of the slave whom a most ferocious Lion respected, because, when fleeing in a rough wilderness,
P. 74, Col. 1. the man had cured the Lion by pulling out of his paw a thorn, // with which he was tormented.[1] Another case is that related by the most Holy and Learned Jerome, of a Lion who in a monastery of solitary Monks in the deserts of the Thebais served in subjection and safely grazed an ass. Neither do I speak of the gratitude shown by elephants to their benefactors, the case being one often seen in East India. Is there anything that can put ungrateful man to greater shame than to consider the generosity of the Sparrow-hawk? Nature has created him with such cold hands that he cannot, so to say, pass the winter nights without protecting them; and so, when he retires from his daily work, he takes with him some little bird

and uses it as gloves till daybreak; and, whereas he might begin by feeding on the prey already secured, he mortifies himself, be his appetite for it ever so great, and, as a return for the benefit received, lets it go free.[2] Gratitude is the gate of Heaven, the joy of earth, the nobility of man, the language of animals, the life of plants, the ornament of nature. It is this animates the Martyrs and makes them spurn Tyrants with all the engines and inventions of their cruelty. It is this satiates the desire of Confessors and penitents, and leaves them satisfied. It is this gives rest to Pilgrims and Hermits, strength to Virgins, hope to the afflicted and disconsolate. It is this governs the Angelic Choirs, / protects the chaste, and constitutes Col. 2. the foundation for the right to eternal glory which the Saints aspire after; for the works of God, His mercies and His bounties are enamelled with the lustre and sheen of that divine virtue.

"The Divine Father of mercies values so highly being thanked, and so greatly esteems men who are grateful, that for the ingratitude alone of the first man He excluded him from those everlasting delights. Debasing what is eternal to what is temporal, the infinite to the finite, the immortal to the mortal, and God to man, covering the Heaven of His sacrosanct Divinity with the wretched clay of our nature, becoming man—without ceasing to be God—in the most chaste womb of a Virgin, covered with the water (? *con el agua*) of that first fault, and like one guilty, He, a divine person, incapable of fault, wished to suffer in the opinion of the world, to teach man to be grateful after being bound by so many ties of gratitude. This duty of ours is so binding that, from the moment we enter into the world, and even before, we owe so much to God for so many and such great benefits as are creation, redemption, preservation, justification, and other benefits and favours, as well those that are general and affecting us all, as those particular to many.

"And let us not wonder, brethren, that, if we neglect paying so just a debt, our divine creditor should prosecute us and punish us finally with many misfortunes; // for it is by dealing these blows that God shakes P. 75, Col. 1. us out of the lethargy of our natural carelessness. Let us consider rather, my very loving brethren, how great will be our thanks, since the Lord has delivered us from perils so great and so evident, as were the ruin and destruction of these Christianities, in the defence of which many must have lost their life, whilst those who escaped with it, must have lost their liberty and their honour; for, captives themselves of those who had been accustomed to fear and respect them, they would have seen their wives and children at the mercy of their victors. Of all these calamities God has saved us in His infinite mercy.

"That is why, brethren, and very dearly beloved ones, I want in this letter to beseech and persuade you all to show your gratitude in every

possible way, by changing your lives, by renouncing your mortal hatreds, by pardoning offences, by casting off, many of you, the proximate occasions of sin in which you are entangled, to the great prejudice of your souls and the souls of your unfortunate victims, the women with whom you live in proximate danger of sin. Indeed, God our Lord, though so grievously offended, has been satisfied with only showing us the punishment, and pardoning us our very great transgressions. Let us then also resolve to satisfy at once this loving Lord, by observing His commandments, and, after returning to Him infinite thanks, let us in all humility acknowledge that we have received so excellent a gift from His most holy hand, and that it
Col. 2. may keep you all, Gentlemen, / I never cease praying in my sacrifices."

When I had despatched that letter, the gentleman (*cavallero*) who was taking our part came to visit and congratulate us. We thanked him no less in deed than in word, and he was so much pleased and gratified that he told us he would, as long as he lived, always help the Christians. He also advised us to go and thank likewise Prince Longarajà[3], the next highest personage in that kingdom after the Royal family: for, not only was he very fond of the Portuguese, but he had persuaded the King to pay no attention to the letters of the Governor of Chatigan; moreover, as soon as the Padchà had told me he would order the withdrawal of the fleet, Prince Longarajà had told the Catagaris, or the King's scribes,[4] to execute at once the formones (*formones*) enjoining on the Corangri to retire at once. Our friend also invited us to pay a visit to other Princes and Lords of the Mogo Council. This we did very exactly and we gave to each his adià, or present.

After these visits, we had a second audience from the King. It was at this particular audience that I presented to him the letter of the Father Provincial of India. He gave it at once to the Ramallù, or Interpreter of the Portuguese Language,[5] to have it translated into the Mogo idiom. He
P. 76, Col. 1. also asked me different informations about India // and the Viceroy, and he said that he wished to write to him and ask him to forbid that any Portuguese should go and take service under the Mogol. To this I answered that the then Viceroy,[6] as well as many of his Predecessors, had always given orders to that effect, because they had themselves an order from His Majesty the King of Portugal, who declared expressly in his Royal decree that they should always favour the Kings of these kingdoms against the common enemy, the Mogol, because he wanted to make himself absolute monarch of India; and that decree is registered in the books of the Goa Secretariat.[7] "Hence, if your Majesty wishes to have many Portuguese in your dominions, try to keep with them the good terms which the Lords your Royal Predecessors kept; and so you will bind them to your service more effectively than with all the wealth of your treasures."

His answer was that he had a ways endeavoured to imitate the good Government of his sires, especially of the great Annaporan, his Grandfather, who, he knew, had been very friendly towards the Portuguese and used to consult them in the most difficult affairs, and that so, with God's help. his rule had been most happy.

Profiting by the occasion, I replied: "The same will happen to your Highness, with the help of God, if you wish to follow the advice given by Jethro to his son-in-law Moses, the Captain and Governor of the people
Col. 2. of God. Seeing him in trouble, he said to him: / *Prouide ex omni plebe viros* [Exod. 18 21.] *sapientes, & timentes Deum, in quibus sit veritas* [Provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, in whom there is truth], or, as another passage has it: *Viros veridicos, & qui oderint auaritiam* [Truthful men, [Exod. 18.21.] and that hate avarice].[8] So that, mighty Padchà, the good counsellor Jethro advised three things as necessary to those who have to be counsellors and ministers: to be wise, to fear God and to be truthful, the whole truth and no flattery being in them, in such wise that the title of truthful men becomes them. And Jethro very prudently ends his advice by saying: *Et qui oderint auaritiam* [And that hate avarice]. This, then, is the enamel and polish of the three above-mentioned virtues, that the counsellor and minister, who is to govern, consider as his sworn enemy the vice of avarice; for, if he is stained by this vice, he will not fear God; not fearing God, he will be wanting in truthfulness; and, these two qualities failing, his being wise will matter little to prevent avarice and greed from making him fall every day into a thousand errors. Indeed, the Philosopher says. *Infinita est enim, & insatiabilis cupiditas naturae* [The cupidity of man is infinite and insatiable]. Covetousness is such that it has on the greedy man the same effect as salt water on a thirsty one; the more he drinks, the greater is his thirst; so too, the more a man given to avarice and greed gets, the more he desires; he always hankers after more and more, and the proof of it is in this saying of the Holy Ghost: *Auarus non implebitur pecunia* [A [Eccle. 5.9] covetous men shall not be satisfied with money]. //

P. 77, Col. 1. "What sort of Government then, Mighty Lord, do you expect to see in your dominions, if the greater number of your advisers and Governors do not fear God, and if the prudence and wisdom wanting in them is exceeded by their avarice and greed of money, so that they give to traders an occasion of trying to obtain with money what they cannot obtain from justice? The Holy Ghost says of the covetous man that "he setteth his own soul to sale" *Animam quoque venalem habet.* The enormous and [Eccl. 10.10.] lamentable pity of it is that his avarice and covetousness should be so great as to make him sell his soul for the sake of money. What misdeeds may one not expect from men infected with this vice? And what good actions can one hope from them?

"That being so, Sire, have you in all your kingdoms any counsellor, minister and Governor more avaricious, more greedy, more ambitious than the Governor whom you have placed in the Kingdom of Chatigàn? Let the voices, clamours and complaints, not only of the whole of that kingdom, but of all the parts where he has any jurisdiction, prove the truth of what I say. Therefore, Sovereign Monarch Boaxem,[9] with the heart and affection of a Christian, of a Religious, of a loyal servant of your Majesty, of one who wishes to see your soul in perfect agreement with the will of God Almighty, I beseech you to understand that it is not conducive to your service to have such a Governor at Chatigàn."

Col. 2. Throughout this discourse, His Mogo Majesty was very attentive and serious. And so, at the end of it, he asked me who the Holy Ghost was.[10] When I had told him, he said, "Father, since God tells us to do these things, I wish to do what the Greatness of greatnesses says; and, therefore, I assure you that I shall dismiss such a man from my Government and appoint at Chatigan one who will give satisfaction."

I then rose and made the tassalima, a kind of curtsey of great veneration, which consists in bowing three times deeply, placing meanwhile the right hand on the ground and then raising it to the head.[11]

When I had performed this ceremony in token of my gratitude, I said to him: "The desire, which I understand your Majesty has, to cultivate the friendship of the Portuguese, as also your magnanimity, encourages me to ask some favours, both because they are for the service of the true God, and because they are calculated to keep up that friendships which we all wish may be preserved to the great advantage of both sides. This result will be greatly furthered, if your Highness grants me and all the Christians the favour of setting free nine families of Christians, who are in captivity in the villages (*aldeas*) of Cuami,[12] letting them come freely to serve in your
P. 78, Col. 1. Royal service, like the other // Christians, either in Arracan, or at Dianga, and allowing them to bring their families and receive, like the rest, the mainas,[13] and ordinary salaries."

The King answered that he would order to pass a formon, or decree, to have them entrusted to me. At this boon I made another Tassalima; and continuing my request, I asked his permission to go and visit the Christians of Arracan, and the favour of a formon allowing me to build a Church in the district, at the place where the Christians were living. This too he conceded; whereupon, I made a third Tassalima. Then he had his secretary called, and he ordered him to pass the said two formones which I asked.

At that moment they brought him the Betel (*Betele*) in a large and very rich golden Betelero,[14] set with many diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, and full of the aromatic Betel, and taking out of it a small golden box, enchased

with some sapphires and rubies, he presented it to me with his own hand. I received it with great curtsies and bows, after their manner. This small box weighed ninety rupees, and the rubies and sapphires were appraised at more than sixty (*sesenta*) rupees. It was used afterwards as a Repository (*Relicario*) for the Blessed Sacrament. When the ceremony of the Betel was ended, the King retired, and I accompanied him up to the third gate, beyond which only the eunuchs and the women are allowed to go.[15]

Immediately after, I arranged with the Secretary about the formones, / and I asked him not to get them passed before letting me know. He said he would do so, and that I could count on him as on a good friend, because he was very desirous of being at my service. I said I quite trusted him; for I did not doubt it would be so, the custom of ministers in all the Courts being to try to please those to whom the Prince wishes well. Col. 2.

After my successful audience with the Mogo King, I started consulting the Courtier who was befriending our interests, as also some of the more experienced Christians, about the best way of having the formones written. With the same expedition, I sent a copy to the Secretary, together with a present, in order to smooth down the difficulties which many ministers seek to make on such occasions. When the formones were ready, they were read before the King, who ordered them to be at once chapa-ed, or sealed with his Royal chapa, or seal in our language, a chapa being at the same time signature and seal, they using no other signature.[16]

No sooner was I in possession of the Royal orders than I went to the house of the Chiquè, or, as we should say, the chief Constable (*Aguazil mayor*).[17] When I presented to him the formones of the King, he placed them on his head with great reverence,[18] and, after reading them, sent a Corón, or catchpoll (*Corchete*),[19] to those Aldeas with a formon of his own // for the Catuàl of them,[20] ordering him to send those Christians to him. P 79, Col. 1.
The said Catuàl answered the Chiquè's formon by directing at once to him five Christians, and sending word that the other four were in the service of the Padchà's elephants,[21] three journeys away, but that he had had them called, and that the moment they came he would send them on.

The five arrived, and the Chiquè sent them at once to be under my keeping; as for the others, he said they were already on the way. In return for his kindness I sent him my thanks both in word and in deed; for such is the usual etiquette for transacting business among those barbarians; and would to God, in his infinite mercy, that this style were not so common among those who are not barbarians, and who boast of teaching and showing to others most holy, most Christian and Catholic rules of etiquette. Such a reform is beyond the power of man; only God can remedy it through His infinite power.

When I received the captives, I represented to them the great favour God had granted them. The poor fellows prostrated themselves on the ground and returned thanks to the Lord, their copious tears showing how their thanks issued from the bottom of their hearts. After indulging this first natural impression, one of the oldest gave me a long account of the vicissitudes of their life. They had been captive those last thirteen years, he said; and at the beginning of their slavery they had / been forced to take to wife gentile women, natives of the country, with whom they lived as if they were married, and by whom they had had children; for the rest, they had lived like Christians and had refrained from all the rites and ceremonies of that heathenism; they had also tried their best to prevent their wives from taking part in them; but, as long as they lived among Gentiles, it was not altogether possible; however, they had to the best of their ability instructed both their wives and their children in the Christian law; and now, the women would willingly receive baptism, if the men wished to marry them after our Christian rite; the men had no objection, considering that they had had children by them, and had contracted towards them other obligations; what gave them most anxiety was the thought that they had not made their confession for about fourteen years; [23] but, they trusted in God that, as His divine Majesty had given them through me the temporal freedom of their bodies, He would further deign to grant them through the same instrumentality the liberty of their souls. I answered that, if they did what in them lay, God in His mercy would not refuse His divine assistance.

Col. 2.

Meanwhile the other four Cristians arrived. All of us together, we now examined the question where it would be best for them to live at Arracan or at Dianga. There were some difficulties either way, and it seemed to me that, as long as I // had not taken information from the Christians of Arracan, it would be impossible to come to a decision. Thereupon, I dismissed them, telling two of them to return within three days to go with me to Arracan: there we would decide matters, and then they would come and fetch their families and their chattels. For the purpose it was necessary to get from the Chiquè another formon, allowing them to depart freely with their families, any objections of the Catuàl notwithstanding. On the strength of the King's formones the Chiquè had this formon also executed. After that, the men left.

P. 80, Col. 1.

Captain Tibao and myself now thought of taking leave of that Highness. He / received us with much pleasure and told us to go in peace on our visit to the Christians of Arracan; a few days later he would go there himself. At the same time he ordered the Catuàl to accompany us and give us lodgings at Arracan. With this official we arranged to leave two days later. Great was our joy at the happy conclusion of the affairs for which we had come; we attributed it all to a special intervention of Heaven, and returned

Col. 2.

hearty thanks to our Creator for these favours; indeed, there is no difficulty so great that the power of God does not overcome and remove.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HOW WE LEFT FOR ARRACAN, AND WHAT HAPPENED TO US AT THAT COURT.

On the day agreed upon for our departure, when everything was ready, the Catuàl in company with all the Japones and their Captain came to fetch us, for the latter wanted to accompany us with some of his soldiers. Insist as we might to make him remain, it was useless. The Catual got a Gelià / very well prepared and adorned, in which we embarked; and so, we navigated, rowing with might and main, the whole of that day, until we arrived at an Aldea, where we had to spend that night. Here we met the Captain-in-Chief (*Capitan mayor*) of the Portuguese and Christians of Arracan, [1] who had come with Portuguese and Indian Christians in some boats gaily decorated with multicoloured flags and banners.// .

P. 80, Col. 1, *infra.*

Col. 2, *infra.*

They were waiting for us there; and, as soon as they saw our Gelià appearing, they received us with a loud salute of musketry and to the sound of some warlike and festive instruments. Then a richly dressed Gelià advanced, bearing the banner of Christ with the Royal Quinas of Portugal,[2] whence we understood that she had on board the Captain-in-Chief (*Capitan mayor*), whose name was Manuel Rodriguez Tigre, as also some of the chief Portuguese. Among them came a Spaniard from Andalusia, Pedro Ortiz, [3] and a Frenchman, Juan Menage, a native of Saint-Malo.[4] These two had gone over to those parts: the former by taking the title of Portuguese; the latter in the service of the Bishop of Meliapor, and they were living in wedlock at Arracan.

P. 81, Col. 1.

The instant that the Captain-in-Chief and the rest, who came in his company, arrived in my presence, they made such great demonstrations in wishing to show me honour and reverence that, puzzled and ashamed, I said to them those demonstrations were not customary in the case of a Religious professing humility; and, though I came as their Visitor and Vicar de la Vara, yet those ceremonies were used only with the Princes of the Church. The Captain-in-Chief replied that all those demonstrations were very necessary among infidels, to make them esteem and respect the Religious and Priests, the more so that the news had already spread / throughout the country that the Boro Padre, or Great Father, [5] was coming. It is under this name that those Infidels christen our Priors in the Residences of those Kingdoms, to whom the Bishops of Santo Tome, or Meliapor, entrust ordinarily their powers, for the sake both of visiting and being ordinaries in those Kingdoms

Col. 2.

which in spiritual matters are subject to their jurisdiction. So great is the respect there shown to the Religious and the Priests that, on one occasion, four of the chief Portuguese carried on their shoulders on a ciriòn a cleric in Priest's orders (*clerigo Sacerdote*), and yet such an office is generally performed by slaves.[6] They did so simply to show to those Infidels that, if they pay so much respect to their false priests, they, as Catholics, had all the greater obligations to show reverence and respect to theirs, true Priests. And, forsooth, their conduct might well be imitated in some Catholic parts of Europe, where more account is made of a servant in silks than of a Regular, or any Priest generally, who does not wear silk.

At that aldea we passed the greater part of that night in sundry conversations about the spreading of Christianity in those lands; and, when dawn broke, serene and fresh, we pursued our journey up to the City of Arracan, where the other Christians welcomed us with many proofs of good-
P. 82, Col. 1. will. When the Catual invited us // to take up our abode in some houses which he had ordered to be prepared for the purpose, I excused myself saying that I had to be in the midst of the Christians, and that they had already prepared a house for us. The Catual then accompanied us up to Digriparà, a Suburb (*Barrio*), where the bulk of the Christians were then living.[7] Taking leave of us, he went to his house and sent us from there a great provision of rice, salt, butter, cows, pigs and fowls: for this is the custom of those Kings in treating as their guests the Ambassadors, or foreigners, who come to transact with them matters of mutual interest.

On the second day of my arrival, I conferred at once with the chief Christians about the site of the Church, and how to make it of wood and bambus. In the meanwhile, they prepared as decently as possible a room where I might celebrate Mass and administer to the Christians the other Sacraments. So many Christians were coming that I had no time even for my ordinary rest. In fact, those who came to receive the holy Sacrament of Baptism, both adults and children, were already more than two hundred, and the greater number were adults, so that it was necessary to instruct them in the most essential points of our holy Faith.[8] For this purpose I
Col. 2. availed myself of the help of two Catechists, whom I had brought purposely from our Residences of Dianga and Angaracale. / They were sufficiently instructed in the necessary prayers, their explanation, and what else is taught in the Catechism about the Sacraments; but, notwithstanding their help, the work was excessive, for I had also to see to the Sacrament of Penance, hearing many who came from some very distant villages (*aldeas*). In five days I heard the confessions of eighty-nine persons, their confessions going back eight or nine years, and I baptised two hundred and twenty-seven persons, of whom one hundred and sixty were adults.

This incessant labour, and the fatigues of so hard and rough a journey

as the one I have related above, caused me to fall ill of a tertian fever, which brought me to death's door. But I confess that, tired and broken as I was, I felt a sensible inner joy in tending that rude flock of the faithful; I shared in the joy and happiness which the Redeemer of life experienced, when, for the conversion of the Samaritan woman, *Fatigatus ex itinere* [John, 4, 6.] *sedebat* [Weared with his journey He sat on the well]. So great was the jubilee of my soul at seeing myself worn out and spent in the same kind of labour that the thought of it did not let me feel the heat and thirst of my fits of fever. I only thought of giving thanks to that divine Majesty for having chosen me, His so unworthy minister, for ministrations so glorious. But, though the // spirit was ready for the work, "*Caro autem infirma* [the flesh was P. 83, Col. 1. [Matth. 26. 41; Mark, 14. 38.] weak]"; and so, as the illness increased, and I did not want to tempt God, I was obliged to keep to my bed altogether and have recourse to medicines Nevertheless, after I had been bled, and had taken the medicine which I judged proper, (for there was no other doctor there,[9] and the doctors of the country do not follow our system of medicine, and besides, they do not prescribe properly) I heard some confessions and baptised some people, especially those who came from afar. At last, however, some Portuguese seeing that my life was in danger, absolutely forbade all visits from those who came to me for the administration of the Sacraments.

The illness became worse, so much so that, as I said, I reached the end of life's tether. But, for hidden reasons, God in His mercy granted me another lease of life, and may He grant that it be spent in His holy service. At the end of two months, I began to feel some improvement; the fever did not keep on so constantly; I could breathe again; and suddenly, a few days later, the fever broke into a quartan, which lasted more than three months;[10] however, when it gave me respite, I could say Mass on days of obligation, and administer the other Sacraments.

In the meantime, the King had me visited sometimes by his Tabibo,[11] or doctor, and he would send me some / very good antidotes, which with Col. 2. the help of God did me great good, chiefly the Lucerrage root, which defeats the effects of the subtlest / poisons.[12] And, since I am led to speak of this admirable root, it will not be foreign to my purpose to give some account of it, and I wish the curious reader to understand that what I shall say about it is based on what I have seen and experienced myself.

The Lucerrage is a plant which resembles the Tamarisk (*Tramaguera*). It differs from it in its leaves, which are broader. Their colour on the inside is a dark green, and on the outside a lighter green. These plants reach a height of from four to six ordinary palm-spans; the roots, and the whole plant, are covered with a bark like that of the white poplar. Nature produces this miraculous plant in the Islands of Macassar, and Bima,[13] where the best are found; but all the virtue of the plant resides in the root, which it throws

out to the North, and the Divine Creator has endowed this root with such wonderful properties that it seems supernatural; for it is efficacious against all fevers, against any kind of poison, against the bite of any venomous animals. When the root has been rubbed on a stone with water, one has but to taste it, or touch with it the lachrymals of the eyes, to expel the
P. 84, Col. 1. poison at once. It works such admirable effects that // it is incredible, and I should not venture to describe them, had I not seen the experiment made.

But I must state that not all the Lucerrage, which the natives of Macassar and Bima bring on the sly for sale, is good: the only good kind is collected by order of the Sumbanco, [14] a title which means great King, or Lord, who has petty Kings as his vassals. When this Sumbanco wished to give any to a foreigner, or Ambassador, he first ordered the experiment to be made in his presence, as in the case of Don Phelipe Lobo, [15] who at the expiration of his Generalship in China was forced, on his return to Goa, to call at the Island of Macassar with some ships and galliots of his fleet. The Sumbanco received him with great pomp and magnificent demonstrations after his own style, that Highness having been most friendly with the Portuguese nation and having continually relations with them. They paid each other some visits and offered each other rich presents. In one of the said General's visits, the Sumbanco gave him as a great present a piece of Lucerrage; and, to make him esteem it and appreciate it for what it was worth, he ordered the accustomed experiment to be made before him. It was as follows. Some people condemned to death were brought forward, whom the Sumbanco ordered to be pierced with a sumpita, [16] a kind of arrow poisoned with herbs of a very subtle venom (*sumpita eruada con veneno*
Col. 2. *muy refinado*): immediately, on being / touched by the sumpita and losing some blood, the patient began to foam, and within half an hour he fell to the ground foaming and struggling in the throes of death; but when they gave him to drink some of that root crushed in water, he ceased at once foaming, and in less than half an hour got on his legs again. On the other hand, when the sentence was executed with a sumpita on another man, they carried him off for burial in less than an hour. Such was the experiment performed by the Macassar King on similar occasions.

As for the sumpitas, or arrows, they are prepared with different kinds of poison; and so, some act quickly, others more slowly, according to the crime of the delinquents, and the penalty inflicted on them; for there are some which do not exert their venom except after twenty-four hours, while others kill a man within an hour.

To resume the thread of our narrative, I say that, though my quartan fever continued, it had abated in force, so that I could celebrate Mass every day and administer the other Sacraments. On hearing that many Christians

had not received the holy oils in baptism, I notified to all to come and receive them: whereupon, seven hundred and nine Christian souls came. The reason why our Religious had baptised so many without the oils was this, that they had been burnt in a fire, which had happened in those days, // and that it had been impossible to enter those kingdoms on account of the wars which I have spoken of. P. 85, Col. 1.

Meanwhile, the erection of the Church was progressing, both because of the facile nature of the materials, and the great care and diligence spent in making the workmen work. In less than two months the Church was completed, and it was dedicated to the most holy Empress of Heaven with the title of *Good Success*, in view of the success we hoped to have in the conversion of those infidels, thanks to the powerful help of that most holy Virgin, the never-failing mediatrix of sinners. [17] In preparation for the feast of the Dedication, the whole body and roof of the Church was decorated with fresh green boughs and artificial flowers made of silk. The verdure of our leafy tapestry thus enhanced, the Church looked like a placid bower checkered with variegated flowers, the eyes of the onlooker delighting in the variety, vividness and brilliancy of the colours. These flowers were the work of a Japon Christian, who, to satisfy his devotion, bore the expense of them for the feast.

The decorations of the altar were in keeping with all this glory. It was erected under an arch, or chapel (*capilla*), specially made for the purpose, the whole of it lined with various stuffs embroidered with gold and silk; and there were sundry bouquets cleverly made and stuck in twenty-four
2. vases of the purest gold encrusted with a variety of / rich stones, these vases having been brought for the day from the Royal treasury. Four of them were five handsbreadths in height, and each was a sufficient load for a man of more than average strength. They brought also from the same Treasury a number of silver vases, great and small: some for ornament, others for burning very sweet perfumes in pans (*cassoletas*), made like those at home (*hechas al patrio modo*), but better, owing to the abundance there of fragrant ingredients; other vases, too, were for the perfumes of scented woods, which when burning emit a most delicious smell. [18] On the altar we placed the picture of the Virgin of Good Success, the titular patroness of the Church, also the box of the Crucifix, [19] of which I have spoken; finally, on either side, we put some curiously contrived perfume-sticks. [20] After that the altar was all majesty and fragrance. To add still greater lustre to all these decorations, the whole floor of the Church was covered with beautiful and delicate carpets from Indostan and Persia, and this is not surprising, for it is the custom of taking off one's shoes on entering.[21]

The Church was opened on the third Sunday of October. On the eve, at night, in all the houses of the Christians there were some fire-works [3rd Sunday of Oct. 1630.]

(*invenciones de fuego*) and illuminations; besides, mortars (*camaras*) and falconets were fired to the sound of many festive instruments.[22]

P. 86, Col. 1. At the rumour of the Christians' feast, so many infidels flocked to, that we did not know where to turn; and, though I was busy in // the confessional, I had sometimes to come out and receive some Princes and respectable Gentlemen, who came to see the Church, and questioned me about the most holy Images of Christ and of His blessed Mother. The concourse of Heathenism was so great that we had to ask the Chiquè for some corones, or catchpolls, to prevent all that infidel crowd from entering, and they managed it so that all the Christians found room in the Church.

That day more than two hundred communicated, and, the Mass over, I preached to them a sermon in praise of the Virgin, exhorting them with some examples to be devout to her, not only because of their duty as Christians, but because of the need we all had of so great an assistance; and that necessity was all the more urgent for such as lived in infidel lands, exposed to such great and continual spiritual dangers: indeed, they were living among people over whom the demon held such a powerful dominion, in a country where his many snares were baited with so many occasions of offending God; and yet, God is so mindful of the service we render Him, and so liberal in his rewards that, for every trifle we give Him, He pays us double, and at once.

And so God deigned on that occasion to repay me double, for great was the jubilee of my soul on seeing in such distant parts, in the centre / of Col. 2. Paganism, a temple dedicated to His most holy service, where the true Sacrament of the Eucharist was worshipped, while invoking and praising Him with floods of tears were those Neophytes and recent converts to His most holy law. Truly, my little services, mixed with so many imperfections, fell short of so rich a reward.

Let then the Religious who think of going to the Missions take heart at this: let them understand and hold for certain that even in this life God will repay them double, if they expose themselves to every kind of toil and danger for the sake of so thankful, powerful and liberal a Master; and let them not be discouraged at seeing how in their own Religions, I speak chiefly of some of the higher superiors of Italy, so little appreciation is shown for services rendered in so great a cause; for they do not value and esteem it with the regard it deserves. I experienced it myself in our Convent-General at Rome, when talking about this matter with an old Religious, one who, though of humble birth, thought that with his title of Master he was a man of some weight in his Religion. Now, on hearing me speak about Missions, he started scoffing in such a way that, without wishing to cast any slur on other Religious, I might have thought him at least a rude and coarse individual with little politeness.

CHAPTER XIX.

IN WHICH THE AUTHOR CONTINUES WITH WHAT ELSE HAPPENED TQ HIM AT THE COURT OF ARRACAN, [1] AND RELATES THE MIRACULOUS NAVAL VICTORY, WHICH GENERAL DON FRANCISCO COUTINO DEL SEM GAINED WITHIN SIGHT OF MALACA OVER THE POWERFUL ACHEM FLEET.

P. 87.

After the feast of the Dedication of the Church, as I felt stronger now to be able to continue my visits to the Palace, I wished first of all to meet the King to confer with him about some important matters, and thank him for his kindness in having had me visited several times by his Tabibo, or Doctor, and having sent me his antidotes. For this reason I hastened to repair to the Palace, and I was received by that Majesty with marks of pleasure and benevolence. I thanked him with the grandest compliments I could devise, and accompanied them with all the curtsies and ceremonies used by them on such occasions ; whereupon, he told me, beaming with smiles . "Father (*Padre*), I am happy to see you are well, / and to hear that you made a grand tamaxà at the Varela of your Quiay." *Tamaxà* in our language means feast ; *Varela*, Temple ; and *Quiay*, God.[2]

Col. 1, *infra*.

Col. 2, *infra*.

To this I answered that my Quiay was also the Quiay of his Highness and of the whole of heaven and earth ; in His infinite mercy He had restored me to health ; and at His feast I had prayed, and every day I prayed, for his Highness' spiritual and bodily health, because the health of the body, without that of the soul, helped only to bring about eternal damnation, the certain fate of all those who, leaving the worship of the true God, followed the erroneous worship of idols, mere fragile statues, without any other value than that of the material with which they were made ; for, when the material was valuable, the Idols too were valuable, for the sake of the quality of the // material, not for the sake of what they represented, because in that line they were airy vanities and inventions of the devil, with which he kept them deluded.

P. 88, Col. 1

To this that Highness replied "Why do you speak so much evil of my Gods (*Dioses*)"? I answered my reason was that they were unworthy of the name of God, a name which ignorant men had given them, whereas the name of God was proper and due only to that divine Majesty who had created Heaven and Earth, Whose omnipotence and incomprehensible marvels were so much above our human understanding that the subtlest and keenest mind could not imagine them, how much less understand them. The truth of this was clearly perceived and deduced by reason itself, and it was evident too from what we saw of the power of that divine Highness ; we here

could judge from those external works that their divine Author was no other than the true God, while his Poragrì, [3] and the like, were pure inventions and deceits of the devil, the natural enemy of mankind, who wanted to drag after him all those who believed in him.

The King winked at one of the Raulines near him, inviting him to answer me. These Raulines, as I have said, are their Regulars. [4] One of the most venerable, taking the matter up, said to me:

Col. 2. "I am surprised that you, and all the other Raulines of the Christians are so bad and so little respectful to our Poràs that you do not fear to say there can be no salvation except in the law which you preach. This is plainly a deceit of your malice; for God has created two paradises, one on earth, and one in heaven, and it is His will that we should enjoy both: the former, in exchange for the sufferings we have endured in the past, whilst the latter is a place of rest. It is clear, therefore, that the paradise destined for man is that on earth; for every mortal, each in his own way, and according to his particular liking, enjoys the pleasures and happiness of this earth: Monarchs, by delighting in earthly power and greatness, and the comforts they bring; the great, the rich, the powerful, by oppressing and tyrannising over those under them; the latter, and all the common folk, too, have their paradise in the delights and enjoyments of this life; and each state of life has only itself to blame, for each has selected the condition in which he can best satisfy his wishes and cravings. The contrary is seen in the brute animals, for they have wasted their chance by choosing labour, trouble and captivity, and so they have a very just claim to the heavenly paradise,
P. 89, Col. 1. which man has chosen to forego of his evil nature and depraved inclination, // and the special purpose why he has preferred to follow the way of vice and sin. However, though man has lost by his fault the Paradise of rest, which the other life holds out, he can become apt to go to the Paradise of rest where are our Poràs, if he does what is counselled and ordained by the holy law which we profess."

Though this nonsense had been answered with evident and convincing reasons, another continued the theme with some extravagances and absurdities about the transmigration of souls. He considered that many men are good and sinless, and that at their death they go straight to heaven; but the bad and wicked, who are steeped in sin, go to hell; on the other hand, the souls of those who have good works as well as sins to their account, on their exit from this world, enter the bodies of different animals.

When asked whether they entered the bodies of every kind of animals, he rejoined that they did, but each one according to the gravity of his sins; those who had committed greater sins, migrated into the bodies of lower animals; those who had lesser sins, into the bodies of animals of better

quality; as for those who had done more good that evil, they returned to their former existence of rational beings, each one according to the condition in which death had found him: for those who had been poor / became poor again; the rich, rich; Kings, kings, and so he went on enumera- Col. 2. ting all the conditions of man, saying of each that it returned to what it had been.

I answered his speech by asking him why man was born again into the condition he said and his well authenticated scriptures taught him.

He replied with much vanity and satisfaction at his wisdom, that it was in order that they might commit more sins, (*porque aquellos cometian mas pecados*), and that, after having been re-born many times, they were damned; but the doomed and damned, after spending very many years in hell, were born again, to be after their death damned once more.

I objected that, according to what he had stated, we had all been re-born already, since he believed that God did not create anew, the souls of the creatures He had made at the beginning of the world, always passing from one body into another. It was doubtless so, he answered; whereupon, I told him that he was badly mistaken and altogether beside the truth: for, if God infused souls into other bodies that they might commit more sins and then go to hell,[5] God was the prime cause and author of such sins; now this was impossible, since there could be no sin in God; this being so, and it was, we could attach no blame// to those who sinned, since God had placed them P. 90, Col. 1 in a condition where they should sin; and if those who died returned to life to make greater sins and then go to hell, no one could go to heaven. "If, then, what you say is true, of what use is it to tell and teach the people that they will all go to heaven to enjoy the sight of your Poràs and their everlasting bliss? I have no doubt that, by observing the law which you say your Poràs taught you, you will all go, not to heaven, but to where your Poràs are, where you will enjoy, instead of everlasting happiness, the never-ending punishments of hell, the place where your Poràs are in the company of the demons."

He wished to reply, but the King made him a sign, and told me he liked very much to hear me; however, as I was still weak, he did not wish that I should tire myself more, for it would do me harm. "When you will be stronger, I shall hear you then disputing with the Xoxom Pungrì,[6] who knows more than these Raulines." Thereupon, the curtain was drawn, and he withdrew. This Xoxom Pungrì is the highest dignitary among the Raulines, and I shall speak of him when I treat of the religion of that nation.

After this first visit to the Mogo Majesty in acknowledgment of the favours recited above, I prepared at once for another audience, a few days

Col. 2. later, for the sake of settling some other matters. In the first place, / I wished finally to provide without delay for the nine families of Christians, whom the King at my request had set free. They had arrived about a month ago with all their family, and they were living on the alms of the other Christians, chiefly of Captain Manuel Rodriguez Tigre, who had taken charge of them all, until the King ordered them to be given mainas, or salaries for their maintenance.

Hearing that the King was coming out to give audience, I went to the Palace, and, sitting down in a place they had pointed out to me, I waited till he showed himself. When he appeared, after the usual courtesies and ceremonies had been gone through, he asked me with a mild countenance how I was.

After answering His Majesty with the ceremonies and obeisances in use, I went on to say: "Great and Mighty Padchà Boaxam, I well know that it is the custom of powerful Monarchs, such as you are, to forget the favours they grant and to remember always the services rendered them; and so, I am not surprised if, consistently with the generosity of your Highness' character, you have forgotten your kindnesses to me. I therefore beseech you again to remember that, among the many which I acknowledge, and shall be always indebted for to your greatness and liberality, there is the
P. 91, Col. 1. freedom which you deigned to bestow on nine families of Christians, // whom quite rightly you kept as slaves and mangoenes[7] in the Aldeas of the Poragrì. In virtue of your Royal mandate, your officials ordered them to be delivered up to me; and now that they enjoy the liberty you gave them, it is just that in token of their gratitude they should enjoy that liberty in your Royal service. I therefore beg of you, mighty Padchà, for love of that supreme and divine Padchà of Heaven and earth, allow them to be taken into your Royal service, like the Christian mainadares."[8]

He answered my request by having the names of those Christians inscribed at once in the book of the ordinary mainadares: for which bounty I make the Tassalima, or salute usual on those occasions, as explained above. I have yet to explain to the curious Reader that the word *mainadar* means with us a stipendiary. There are of different mainas, but the ordinary ones receive already their maina, or fixed salary, which does not exceed ten rupees a month, or five pesos of our money. With that four persons can live conveniently.

After concluding this affair with the success I had hoped for, I did not think it proper on that occasion to press any other requests: they required more time and more preparation. I now began my visitation in the name
Col. 2. of the Most Illustrious Lord / Don Fray Luis de Britto de Meneses, an Augustinian, Bishop of Meliapor, and Bishop Elect of Cochim, who was

Governor of the Estados of India, during which government he died, being then appointed Inquisitor General of the Kingdoms and Estados of the Crown of Portugal.[9] His person, his virtues and his excellent government would supply very ample matter for my expatiating in praise of him; but I refrain, because I am conscious that, to do justice to so great a theme, I ought to have the style of a Livy, or others such, and also because I know that the Chroniclers of my nation, who recount the things of East India, speak at length of this remarkable Prelate. However, I shall not omit saying, though in passing, that, during the two years when he governed India, he so improved matters that, had he governed longer, he might (it is thought) have restored India almost to its former condition This was made manifest, when news was brought from Malaca to the City of Goa, the Court where the Viceroys of that Estado reside, to the effect that the Achem,[10] a powerful King, and the inveterate enemy of the Portuguese, was sending a strong fleet against that city. At this news he did at once everything he could to send an auxiliary force; and, deplorable as was then the condition of the Estado by the fault of the King's Ministers, he found it possible to despatch a fleet of thirty sail, what with galliots and rowing vessels.

The Captain-General, who went with it, was that great // and valiant Captain Don Francisco Coutiño del Sem.[11] Before entering Malaca, he sighted the hostile fleet coming also along and ready for action, for the weather was calm. It consisted of sixty galleys, very strong two-deckers, provided with plenty of excellent bronze (*bronçe*) artillery, and supported by many other vessels of different names and descriptions. The General of that Armada was one of the best and most successful Captains whom that nation had ever had. His name, Luçamane,[12] was the terror of the whole of that Emporium, both in the Kingdoms on *terra firma* and in all the Kingdoms of the Island of the Samatra,[13] where his glorious victories had subjected many Kings to the Achem's Power. Such was the man whom the invincible Captain Don Francisco Coutiño was to encounter. The numerical strength of his ships and men was so greatly inferior that it seemed rashness; withal, confident in the help from above, he ordered to rest the oars, and gave the signal for the Council. All the Captains gathered immediately, and after some discussion it was decided to give battle. P. 92, Col. 1.

Accordingly, everything was got ready, and they hoisted the Royal standard of the Quinas of Portugal. This divine emblem [of the Five Wounds], with which Christ, our divine Captain, redeemed mankind and vanquished / all the powers of Hell, was given by Him for their armorial bearings to the Illustrious Kings of Portugal, that, strong with their virtue, they might undertake those stupendous works, and achieve all those miraculous Col. 2.

victories, known to all the nations of Europe, and experienced by many others, both in Africa and Asia. At the sound of numerous bellicose instruments, they unfurled that divine standard so famous in all those hemispheres.

Then, the brave Captain started reminding his soldiers of the glorious things wrought by that heavenly ensign with which God had so honoured the Lusitanian nation, choosing them as His instrument for propagating his holy law in parts so very remote; their glorious deeds there were making known to the nations God's Trophies, so that, profiting by their efficacy, they were coming to occupy the heavenly seats, which Lucifer and his adherents had lost and caused every day to be lost for such a multitude of souls over the greater part of Europe, his ministers being the various heresiarchs who opposed the Vicars of Christ and tried to snatch the whole Catholic flock from their obedience. Instead, the Most Serene and Devout Kings of Portugal, through the power of those divine wounds, and through their ministers of the Cross and the Sword, were subjecting to the obedience of the same Church
P. 93, Col. 1. and of her Vice-Christs such a great multitude of souls, // until then combating under the standards of Lucifer.

"So then, Christians and comrades mine, let us be fully confident that God will grant us a glorious victory over those barbarians, who, trusting in the promises of their accursed Maometan sect, think it a plenary indulgence to bathe in Christian blood. How much greater must not be our reliance, for we have for us the true promises of our most holy law. Justice too is on our side, for we fight in defence of the Christian name, and the honour of our Spanish nation, which we bear in our hands this day! Above all, let us fix the eyes of our mind on those divine scars of Christ our Redeemer, nailed to a Cross for the sake of us all, and from there encouraging his own, and making easy, tolerable, nay, sweet, the hardest toils, and the cruellest death. The Lord of such great mercies will not forsake us, however much our sins may deserve it, for we are His yet; we fight in His cause, for His honour, which the dogs yonder do not. We may be sure then that our Divine Captain, and Lord Christ, wishes to deliver them into our hands to-day for the castigation of their misdeeds. That being so, at them. Santiago!"[14]

His fervid, high-souled speech animated the soldiers of Christ with
Col. 2. courage and strength. / Presently our galliots and rowing vessels measured themselves against those powerful galleys, wooden sea-monsters towering above them, whence the foe received our men to the sound of much heavy artillery and other fire-belching inventions, which battered them from above with a hail of projectiles. It availed the enemy little though, for the intrepid heroic Lusitanians rushed up, sword in hand, and protected by their shields, their comrades helping them the while and clearing the way for them with continual volleys from their arquebuses, while others were busy nailing

fire-cushions and suchlike appliances to the sides of the galleys (*en clauaren en los costados de las galeras, coxines de fuego, y otros semejantes artificios*), and that in the teeth of the fiercest resistance, for the defenders counted many foreigners of different nationalities, such as Turks, there called Rumes, Persians (*Parsios*), Coraçanes, and Malavares,[15] and they were all veterans, accustomed to similar encounters. But the havoc and the slaughter wrought in their ranks by our men was so great that, if I wished to set down all the details of that memorable battle, I should write a special volume I shall therefore conclude by saying that, considering the great disproportion in the number and strength of the ships, it can be placed among the many miraculous feats of arms performed by the Portuguese in those parts. The fleet of the enemy was so completely destroyed that // General Luçamane had scarcely a ship left to effect his escape and carry to his King the news of his utter discomfiture. P. 94, Col 1.

Present at that battle were four Augustinian Religious. Their work consisted in confessing the soldiers, encouraging them, and assisting wherever their help was necessary in the service of God and of their King. It is customary with our Religious to do so on all occasions that offer themselves. Every one in East India knows how we thus assist all the more important armadas, for instance those consisting of large vessels (*las de alto buerdo*), and those of the Strait of Ormus and the Persian Sea, where some Religious lost their lives in the service of both Majesties, the human and divine.[16] The same happened on several occasions in our time; for instance, three Religious died in the shipwreck suffered by General Nuño Alvarez Botello, the Viceroy governing the Estado of India being Don Francisco de Gama, Count Admiral.[17] Another case was the naval battle fought by the great and invincible / General Antonio Telles de Meneses against the rebellious heretical Hollanders in the year 1637,[18] when the Estado of India was governed by Viceroy Pedro de Silva.[19] Father Fray Vicente de San Augustin, a virtuous and zealous religious, died on that occasion. He had just finished absolving a dying man, when a Bombard-ball cutting him in two made him render up his soul to his Maker.[20] Were he one of theirs, there would not be wanting those who would call him a Martyr, for he died in the cause of obedience, the chief object of the fighting being the defence of the Catholic Religion against the perverse dogmatists and followers of the devilish heresies of Luther and Calvin and others of that ilk. But, as the Augustinian Religious were always modest in manifesting their actions to the world, it being enough for them if they were known to God, they little publish exploits, well or badly authenticated, although it costs them being regarded as lazy. Col. 2.

CHAPTER XX.

IN WHICH THE AUTHOR CONTINUES TO RELATE THE OTHER INCIDENTS WHICH HAPPENED TO HIM AT THE COURT OF ARRACAN, UNTIL HIS DEPARTURE.

Col. 1, *infra.*
Col. 2, *infra.*
P. 95, col. 1.

To return to that part of our history where I left off, speaking of the beginning of my visitation of the Christians residing in those parts, I must say that I discovered a vast, dense thicket of disorders firmly rooted. The reason of it, as I have said, was that our Religious had been unable those seven years to go over. And so, the help of God was needed to shape these Christianities properly. Without losing courage, I undertook the task of reform, feeling certain and taking it for granted that God in his infinite mercy would assist me. The married people were living in occasions of sin in their own homes, whilst those who were not married were similarly exposed, many living publicly as if they were married *in facie Ecclesiae* [before the Church].

First of all, a remedy was sought for the married people, by removing from their houses their female slaves, with whom they lived in danger of sin, and sending them to the houses of trusty god-fearing persons, with the intention of directing them afterwards to various parts of India, or marrying them with some Christian topaces,[1] that is people of dark or darkish complexion, Indians of the soil. In fact, some women married some of them. Now, as in those parts the women are more submissive and obedient to their husbands, they dare not contradict them in their bad habits; first, not to displease them, and secondly, because by nature they are not zealous in the matter, nor do they care, except some who have been well instructed already about the obligations of holy Matrimony; and even these do no more than report the matter to the Religious, rather to pacify their conscience than satisfy any natural inclination.[2]

Col. 2.

The soldiers and bachelors *(desobligados)*,[3] because the Lords of the land trusted them more, were living, as I said, alienated from God and a scandal to others, not however to these Barbarians, for some sects, chiefly the Maometan sect, will not believe there can be men living without women. The question was to save these men also, with God's help, from the proximate occasions of sin. There were many difficulties in the way. As the former Visitors had not been Regulars, the people had been in the habit of pacifying them by paying them the pecuniary fines; these received, the Visitors did not care whether the wretches remained as before in their state of damnation.[4] This time they saw that the Visitor was a Regular, and they knew that in those parts Regulars have a way of managing these things properly, and that, instead of caring for sending large fines to the Bishops and Chapters, they preferred to see the people keep their money than the proximate occasions of offending God. They also saw that I shut the door

to every kind of presents. On the other hand, I was afraid of resorting to excommunications (would to God that the Christians of those parts feared them more), both because people there look upon them as a grievous affront, and // because some strange cases have occurred. P. 96, col. 1.

One is that which happened to Father Fray Bernardo de Jesus, while he was Vicar General for the Ordinary of Cochim, and Prior of our Convent of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, in the city of the Ugulim (*del Vgulim*) in Bengala. That great and zealous Prelate Señor Don Fray Andreas of happy memory, a Religious of the Seraphic Order, and Bishop of Cochim, had commissioned him to visit all the Christianities of the Kingdoms of Bengala and Arracan. He began by the visitation of the City of the Ugulim, and found it necessary to have recourse to an excommunication, but it was badly observed by some. Disconsolate at the result, and seeing there was no other way to prevent from turning to God's dishonour what was meant for his service, the servant of God turned to the same God in prayer and fasting, and calling one day to the convent some of the chief citizens, who were unwilling to observe the excommunication, he preached to them, exhorted them, and prompted by his burning love for those sheep which contumaciously had gone over to the fold of Satan, he burst into tears. They remained as contumacious as before, the devil blinding them, that they might not know their evil state. Determined, however, to bring them back to the fold of the Heavenly Shepherd, the Father, arming himself / with the Col. 2. shield of Faith, and carried away by the fervour of his zeal for the honour of God, ordered one of the rebels to lift up a small stool which stood near him. The man, doing as the Father said, lifted it with great ease, and with the same ease put it back into its place. The servant of God then excommunicated the stool, and told the same man to lift it again. Stupendous wonder and marvel, which the Author and Father of mercies not seldom works to confirm the authority of the keys of Peter and of his lawful successors, as also to convert us to Him and pardon us our offences! When the man tried to lift the bench again, he could not, try as he might, not even with the help of his companions. Recognising their sin, they all fell at the feet of the servant of God, and confessed their faults with many tears, promising before the Crucifix to amend their lives. Two of the penitents, carried away by their fervour, ran to the Tower of the Convent and started ringing the bells, till the greater part of the people came running to the lodge of the porter *(portaria)* of the Convent to ask why they rang the bells. Much as the servant of God and good Prior tried to conceal what had happened, the repentant Citizens went out to // receive the people and relate P 97, col. 1. the occurrence. The consequence was that all the rebels submitted, and that even some of the infidels, who heard of the case, were converted. [3]

Now to return to the sequel of our narrative, I say that, when the soldiers, who lived in occasions of sin, heard of my resolution to declare them excommunicate, they began to remove the occasions, some of the smaller fry marrying the women with whom they lived in sin. Thanks to God, therefore, and in spite of the many difficulties and obstacles which the Devil threw in our way, we obtained what was wanted and becoming for the service of God

This matter finished, there was another causing greater prejudice and offence of God, which required reform; namely, certain Gentile rites still observed by some Neophytes and converts of some years' standing, who had been won over by the Augustinian Missionaries. As, owing to the hindrances explained above, the Missionaries had been unable to continue the cultivation and care of that Mission, the Devil had rebuilt the old foundations of Idolatry, beginning with some external ceremonies and mixing some pagan rites with Catholic ones. As the greater number of those people lived among infidels, their daily connections and dealings with
Col. 2.[1] them made them resume little by little what they had left. / It was the Devil sowing and planting again among them the seeds and roots of Idolatry; so that the wheat required cleaning and the ground fresh tilling.

I determined, therefore, that on all days of obligation they should come to the Church in the evening, and I spent several hours with them, teaching them and showing what was necessary for their salvation. Accordingly, our Lord was pleased that they should again catch hold of what they were gradually losing. But, as it would be very difficult for them to keep the most holy law they had embraced, as long as they lived in the midst of Pagans, I tried to discover the means of bringing them to the place and quarter where the other Christians lived. Several ways were tried, but each time I met with difficulties and opposition. The chief one was this. I was told that, if I tried to remove those Christians and keep them together with the rest, the King, as well as his Council, a craven, weak-minded and suspicious crew, would read in my action some evil intention. Anxious and irresolute, I neither wished nor dared to take any of the Christians into my confidence, lest the matter might come to the knowledge of the Captain of the Portuguese.[6] If he happened to hear of it, he would undoubtedly, for
[1] P 98, col. 1. the sake of his private interests and // those of the other Christians, obstruct my path, and obtain that the King and his Councillors should not grant me permission, thus freeing themselves of any suspicion which their connivance with me would entail.

In the midst of these difficulties, I bethought myself of the friendly relations between me and the Captain of the Japones, Leon Dono. So, I communicated to him my intention, and how the cause of God's service was

my motive in the matter. While we discussed the means to be adopted, he told me that the business was a difficult one, because it would rouse strong suspicions among the Mogos; however, as it tended to the service of God, His Divine Majesty would make it easy. Himself, he would do everything he could. He would disclose the matter to his wife, a native. She had free access to the palace, having been in the service of the old Queen, who had been Queen of Pegù; [7] and so, she would be able to find out some safe way to broach the subject. If he heard anything, he would let me know. [8] Taking his leave, I returned very pensive to our Residence.

Three days later, the Japon Captain called, and said, his wife had mentioned the point to the said Peguan Queen, who had answered that she would use her influence as far as necessary · but, since I had found favour with the Padchà, she thought it best that I should look for a good opportunity, / and, without revealing my object, ask him quite plainly to be so good as to Col. 2. order some Mangoenes to be given me for the service of the Varela of the Quiay of the Christians. I have explained elsewhere already that *Quiay* means God, and *Varela*, Temple or Convent. The word *Mangoen* means people set aside by the King for the particular service of a person, or place. These men are obliged to serve alternately for a month, and they gain nothing, except what their Masters are willing to give them: they therefore divide themselves in such a way that, while some are serving their Masters, the others continue with their private concerns for a living, and so they are not given even their daily food. [9]

The Japon Captain, after reporting the Queen's answer, told me he thought it good for me to go on a visit to that Queen, and thank her for her willingness to favour the Christians. The advice appeared to me excellent, and I should have gone at once, as the occasion was a good one; but, at our first arrival at that Court, we had given so many adiàs, or presents, that our stock of curiosities and pieces of India and China was now far run out, and, as I have said, to present oneself empty-handed on such occasions will be taken for impolite, and one will not be well received. I was therefore obliged to let slip that good // chance, and try first to find some suitable present for P. 99, col. 1. her Highness.

When some of the Christians had helped me to something, I went at once to call on the Queen, and, to be sure we should not be received in the dark, the lantern of our presents went ahead. It lighted the way to a hall, where was her Highness. The hall was quite bright, thanks to the lantern, which had preceded us. She received me with a joyful, pleasant countenance, and answered my deep inclinations by a gentle bow of the head. a thing which my companions took for an extraordinary honour and favour, one which (they said) she used only towards Princes and great Lords. [10] And,

indeed, there was good reason for thinking so, for she had been Empress of Pegù, and she descended in the male line from the Prechaus Saleus of Sornau, those whom our Portuguese call Emperors of Siam, [11] who, if their chronicles are right, date more than one thousand seven hundred years back, and are therefore obeyed by the seventeen kings of Capimper. [12]

Her Greatness was seated on an estrade, two palms above the ground, covered with carpets of gold and silk, and adorned with rich violet velvet cushions, embroidered with gold and seed-pearls (*aljofar*). About her, on
Col. 2. the estrade, knelt six gaily dressed women, some of whom / were occupied in serving Betel, while others, holding beautiful fans in their hands, kept off the troublesome flies. Elsewhere in the hall were twenty venerable-looking old men, dressed in ample apparel of violet damask. Two of them, coming to me, made me sit on another estrade, smaller and lower than that of the Queen. It was covered with a good ordinary carpet and two velvet cushions.

When seated, I tried with the marks of abasement customary among them to express my gratitude for the good-will which her Greatness showed towards the Christians. To this she replied that she had always been well-disposed towards them, from the time that she had had intercourse with the Portuguese of Pegù, where she had gone sometimes to the Varela of the Quiay of the Christians. There she had seen the image of Saint Mary, of whom the Father had told her great marvels, and she had learned the Ave Maria, and had recited it often; but, after the death of her Lord and husband, and the many misfortunes she had undergone, owing to the rebellion (*levantamiento*) of the Tyrant Bramà, the violent death of her children (*hijos*), the destruction and ruin of her house, she had forgotten it. [13] Here she burst into a flood of tears, unable to continue her speech; and, all her efforts failing to contain and repress the grief she felt at those sad
P. 100, col. 1. memories, she // gave a loud sigh, and almost fainting was taken inside.

Greatly perplexed at this turn of affairs, I did not know what to do, go away at once, or wait for her permission. While in this fix, some of the venerable old men of the Court came to me, and one of them said: "Padre, do not be astonished if the Mistress of our heads went away without dismissing you: the remembrance of such great calamities leaves us no other choice than paying the tribute due to human weakness." A respectable lady, accompanied by two others, who appeared less so, then came to me and said in her Highness' name that she was very sorry she had not been able to give me leave under more joyful conditions, but she hoped in God to give me joy yet on occasions which would offer for doing good to me and the Christians. I answered this message in words of gratitude and concern at what her Highness had felt, and I begged her to offer it up to the true God

and His most holy Mother Mary, for she would feel greatly consoled by it. The messenger went on her errand, and I departed too, accompanied by that cortege of old men, and by some janitors who, with silver staves in their hands, escorted me up to the last doors.

A few days passed, and an opportunity arose for speaking to the King about / the matter I had in mind. During the interval, the widowed Queen Col. 2. sent someone to visit me and give me a big present of hens, chickens, rice, butter and fruits. In addition to these comestibles, there were two pieces of very delicate cassas, each ninety yards (*varas*) long, and seven palms broad, worked with variously coloured flowers of gold, silver and silk: most beautiful and charming pieces of work, and which I valued greatly as such, both on account of the material, and because they could be used for adorning and embellishing the Altars. And so, I ordered at once to make with them three pair of curtains with their testers (*con sus cielos*), all of them garnished with tassels of the purest gold, for three Churches: [14] an ornament which would have been creditable on days of greatest solemnity in any Church in Europe.

The Queen also sent me word that I could go to the Palace the next day: the King would come out to a gallery to see some small elephants, which some hunters had brought from the mountains of the Pre (*del Pre*). [15] and there would be Tamaxà, or a feast and entertainment; I would be able to see it and speak to the King, for she had talked to him about me, and of my visit to her: she had not spoken to him about my affair, because she thought that the more simply I approached the King about it, the better; however in the course of her conversation she had disposed him to granting me boons and favours. I should not // lose my chance, therefore, P. 101, col. 1. and I might rest assured that, on her part, she loved me like a son. I reciprocated her message and present with the most suitable compliment I could devise, and the bearers of the present went away more gratified with my deeds than with my words, for what is sufficient in some parts of Europe is not sufficient there.

The next day, at the proper time, I went to the Palace, taking with me some mechanical toys, more curious than precious, for the little sons of that Highness; for, as there would be tamaxà, they might be with their Father, and, by offering them in his presence, I might see my chance to usher in the object of my visit. On reaching one of the halls of the Palace, where some Lords were already assembled, I waited until the King came out with his two sons, and, going towards him, I paid him the usual courtesy. He asked me with a smile whether I came to see the *Tamaxà of the Atìs*, [16] which translated into our language means the *Feast of the Elephants*. I answered that I came to see His Majesty only, for the sight of him was for me a better

Tamaxà than any other, especially as I saw that he was enjoying good health, a mercy from the hand of the true God. "Quite right, Padre," he replied, "for every good thing comes from His powerful hand. Let us go
Col. a. and see those Atis which He created." Whereupon, I // accompanied him to a gallery, where he sat down in a place that had been adorned for the purpose, and presently the Lords of the Court sat down a little lower, and I among them.

While the King's younger son was reclining in the arms of a gentleman near me, I pulled out of my sleeve a small box, gilt with gold and black, and designs in mother-of-pearl (*caxilla dorada de oro, y negro con algunos matises de madreperla*). Inside was a small, white, fluffy dog, very natural-looking, who, on showing himself, played with his paws, a Chinese toy. For inventiveness, the Chinese can compete with the most ingenious nations of Europe. When I showed the toy to the small Infante, [17] he came to me at once, and sitting near me was delighted to see the artificial little dog playing pranks with his paws. I gave him the box, and he went with it quite happy to his Father, who delighted in the amusement of his boys, the bigger lad, the elder, having now gone near too The Royal Father began playing with both, and forgetting for the nonce his Royal gravity he launched into a thousand jokes about the little dog. The bigger boy wished to take it into his hands, and the King gave it him; but the smaller one changed countenance and wanted his brother to let go; he resisted, and the younger one began to weep and pule, so that, to pacify him, the bigger boy had to be told to give it up, and then he too looked sad and displeased, and coming to
P. 102, col. 1. where // I was, asked me to give him another little dog.

For his sake I pulled out of my sleeve a very curious knife-case, containing two knives with crystal handles, both very cleverly garnished with gold and some very small rubies; the sheath was lined with green velvet, and decorated besides with small gold plates set with the same kind of small rubies, a piece of Ceilan manufacture, more pretty than costly. The Prince was so pleased with it that he put it in his camarabando, [18] a kind of girdle or sash, which they use as belt. There are of different kinds, according to the quality and means of the persons. In them, on the right, they wear knives, or cris (*crises*), [19] that is short weapons, corresponding to our daggers and poniards. In his camarabando the Prince had a cris (*cris*), with a gold handle, set with pearls of ordinary size, except one at the end of the hilt, which was greater than the average; the sheath, which was also of gold, had a few good sapphires enchased. Taking his cris from his girdle, the Prince gave it me, and in its stead he fixed my knife-case. All the by-standers praised him for the generosity of his action, and his father was highly pleased with it The Prince went off, and taking the

knives out of his girdle and holding them in his open hands, he presented them to his father, kneeling.

After examining them, the Mogo King said to his / son: "Prince, for one cris that you gave to the Father, he gave you two." Then, turning to the younger of the two, who was busy with his small dog, he called him by his name. "And you, do you give nothing to the Father? Well, I shall do it for you." And, addressing me, he said: "Father, you have given me a grand tamaxà to-day. Let us now proceed with the other." Thereupon, while he turned his attention to the inspection of the small elephants, the elephants came out to the square, and they discussed which would turn out the best. And, bringing bundles of sugar-canes, they threw them to the beasts, who despatched them and showed much gallantry, especially near a tank (*tanque*) full of water, where with their flexible little trunks they sprayed themselves and a crowd of lookers-on. Col. 2.

When these animals had been taken away, the King asked me if there were any such in Portugal, and he started questioning me on other matters regarding the maritime government of the Estado of India. The occasion seemed good to me to propose my request. I said: "Powerful Padchà Boaxam, with the help of God and of your Greatness, our Church is now finished; but there is no one to take care of it. In order that the house of the Powerful and true God may be properly served, I beg of you to apply to it some Mangoenes. If you do this as an alms given for His sake, you will obtain from Him your reward, and I shall ever pray that you may be great and blessed by that divine Majesty."

In answer to my petition, he got the Chiquè called at once, and told him // to give me all the Mangoenes I might ask for and choose, for he wished to give that alms in his name and that of his children to the Church of the Quiay of the Christians. For this new boon I paid him the accustomed tassalima. The King, after discoursing with his courtiers on sundry matters, rose and went off, accompanied by all, until he arrived at a certain door, where it is the custom that women receive him, for no one else is allowed further inside, except the eunuchs, and the small children (*los hijos pequeños*). P. 103, col. 1.

Taking my leave from that Majesty, I went home, accompanying the Chiquè up to his house, and talking about the Mangoenes. I did not venture, however, to tell him my intention of asking for the Christians, or else he might have suspected that it was a preconcerted affair. As he asked me how many Mangoenes I wanted, and what sort, I told him I could not tell him yet, as I was little experienced in that kind of business; but I would inquire and let him know. He answered: "Father, you are quite free as regards the number and the choice, for the Padchà made no restriction; whatever you order me in this matter, I shall comply with it at once.

Col. 2. However, since I look upon you as amara Bay / ('my brother', in our language, [20] a title which they are wont to give when they wish to show to a person that they are his true and faithful friends), I advise you to select Christians, or Indùs (Gentiles those), because you will get on better with them." I paid him the very gratuitous compliment of thanking him for his kindness in giving me that advice and the title he had bestowed on me. Yes, I would certainly follow his recommendation; it was the right thing; but I ought not to decide anything without consulting first the Portuguese and the other Christians, because I had asked that favour from the Padchà without their knowing; I would tell him then, and my resolution would be to his taste and liking.

After that, I went my way, and many were my thanksgivings to God for having facilitated that important business, against which such a combination of difficult circumstances had been conspiring. Presently, I informed the Japon Captain, and I called likewise two of those Christians who went under the name of the King's slaves or mangoenes. I explained to them what I had negotiated, both for the spiritual good of their souls and their temporal welfare: for they would be free, and exempt from paying any tribute. They were very much pleased at the news, and very thankful to God. I found that they numbered altogether eighteen, married all of them
P. 104, col. 1. and heads of families. // To conceal, therefore, the better my intention, and to bring over others still, who lived among the infidels with the like danger to their souls, I resolved to ask for twenty mangoenes, they affirming that, besides themselves, I should be able to find some more Christians. This settled, I took down their names and dismissed them.

The next day, I went to the Chiquè, a good present leading the way. After mutual salutations, I came to the business, and said that the Church and its residence required twenty mangoenes; and, as for the choice, I wished to follow the advice he had given me, namely to take Christians, or Gentiles. I asked him, therefore, to get the Christians called, and to explain to them what the Padchà had settled. The answer to my request was that there and then, in my presence, he sent a Coron, or Catchpoll, to intimate to all the Christian mangoenes that they had to appear before him the next day at such an hour. The Christians went, and the Chiquè, finding they were not twenty, sent me word that there were eighteen, and asked for the names of the two who were missing. I bade them say that it mattered not if two were missing; but I would come and speak to him.

Two days later, I went in search of him and told him that, instead of the two missing Christians, I would find out some more Christians, who were
Col. 2. willing to come and / serve the Church, and so he might order the formon to hold good for twenty. To this he answered that it could not be; the men

were to be delivered before the public tribunal, one by one, and nominally; therefore, their names had to be entered in the Royal formon; but, besides those eighteen, I could take the Christians who, of their own accord, would go to serve the Church, provided they were not bound already to the mainas of the Padchà. I agreed to that arrangement and came back, leaving some money in the hands of one of his officials (who showed himself very tame with me), in order to get the formon passed through the chapa, or Royal seal,[21] the same as with us a Royal provision signed by the King.

Five days later, the Chiquè ordered to call me, as I was to appear in the Drovà *(Drouà)*,[22] the public place of audiences, where I had to be entrusted publicly with the eighteen mangoenes, and the Royal formon. Obeying the summons, I went to the Drovà. The Chiquè arrived, and sitting *pro tribunali*, bade them read the Royal formon; and, while it was being read, he and all those present listened on their knees, and their head bowed, in token of reverence. After the reading of the Royal formon, they made me approach the tribunal, and the Chiquè who was there, placing it on his head, delivered it to me, who received it with the same ceremony. Two secretaries of // the accounts (Catagrìs, as P. 105, col. 1. they are called)[23] came, and solemnly delivered those people to me.[24] Thanks to God, therefore, this matter was now concluded, and the devil was put to shame, for he lost jurisdiction over those souls, and over another eleven families, who came after the eighteen. When the Captain-in-Chief, and the other Portuguese and Christians heard of this, they marvelled not a little, and ascribed it, as was right, to a special favour of God, to whom be thanks for ever, world without end.

I told those Christians to remain still a few days in their houses, / until Col. 2. we could contrive to supply them with new lodgings. An alms was collected for the purpose among all the faithful of Arracan, and it reached one hundred and sixty rupees, or eighty pesos of our money. With this alms, and what the Captain-in-Chief added to it, a piece of ground was bought, and the necessary houses were erected. Being of bambus, and covered with leaves (*olas*), they were easily and quickly made. The huts completed, all went to occupy them with their families, and they did not cease thanking the Lord for having brought them away to live among the other faithful.

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NOTES TO CH. XVII.

(1) The well-known story of Androclus and the lion. P. 74, Col. 1.

(2) *The sparrow-hawk and his gloves.*—This fable is probably as old as Pliny.

(3) *Prince Longarajà.*—He is mentioned only once. *Rajà* must stand for *rája* P. 75, Col. 2.
or *rájá* = king; or the ending *ja* is an honorific. Cf. p. 38, col. 1, note 11. In du Jarric (French edn. III, 852) there is question of a Mogo chief called Anja at Chittagong (14th November 1602); and we hear of 2 Jesuit Missionaries at Chittagong making excursions (1600-02) to the Bandels of Caranja and Anja, especially when the ships of the Portuguese merchants from India lay there at anchor (*ibid.*, III, 839; 849). In one of Guerreiro's Relations we find a captain called Maruja.

(4) *Catagaris or the king's writers.*—The word occurs several times. Derivation unknown. The ending *gari* or *gri* must be honorific. Cf. p. 38a, note 7.

(5) *Ramallù.*—Cf. p. 71a, note 18. At p. 155b, Manrique calls him the Secretary of the State of Arakan. Derivation unknown.

(6) The Viceroy alluded to may be Dom Francisco da Gama, 22nd Vice-Roy, P. 76, Col. 1.
but he had gone back to Portugal on the 17th March 1628. After him Dom Frey Luis de Brito was "Governor," 6th March 1628—9th (29th?) July 1629. He was succeeded by Nuno Alvares Botelho, who died on the 5th May 1630, and was only Governor: Dom Miguel de Noronha, Count de Linhares, the 23rd Viceroy, had arrived at Goa on the 21st October 1629, having left Lisbon on the 3rd April 1629. Cf. Padre Manuel Xavier, S. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76. Manrique may have known by the time he spoke to the king of Arakan that Dom Miguel de Noronha was Viceroy. See, however, Manrique, p. 94a, where he places the death of Nuno Alvarez Botelho during the Viceroyalty of Dom Francisco da Gama.

(7) *Decree of the King of Portugal ordering to help the Mogo against the Mogol.*—I do not doubt that such decrees had been issued; but to discover them would mean no little trouble.

(8) "Truthful men, *and that hate avarice.*"—The words in *italics* are from the Col. 2.
same passage (Exod. 18.21).

(9) *Boaxem.*—This title of the King of Arakan remains to be explained. Cf. P. 77, Col. 1.
also for its use p. 90b (Boaxam); p. 103b, etc.

(10) *Who is the Holy Ghost?*—Very likely, Manrique had used for "Holy Col. 2.
Ghost" the Portuguese equivalent "Espirito Santo." The Portuguese Missionaries were as a rule very slow in adopting vernacular equivalents for their religious terminology.

(11) *The tassalima.—Taslim* (Arab.): a respectful mode of salutation, which consists in lowering the right-hand until the knuckles touch the ground, then gradually raising the body and lifting the hand to the crown of the head.

(12) *The nine Christian families of Cuami.*—Cf. p. 68b, note 9. Perhaps the following may help to locate these villages on the Kaladan River. "The name Kaladan in derived from *dan* (a place) and *Kala* (a foreigner), as it was on this river that the Kings of Arakan located their Bengali slaves." W. S. Thom in *Burma Gazetteer, Northern Arakan District (or Arakan Hill Tracts)*, Vol. A, Rangoon, 1910, p. 2.

P. 78, Col. 1. (13) *Mainas.—Mahínd* (Pers.): month, monthly salary.

(14) *Betel and betelero.*—The word betel is regularly *betele* in Manrique. *Betelero* is a handy term, not in *Hobson-Jobson*, for the vessel containing the betel.

(15) *The third gate of the palace at the Poragri leading into the private quarters.*—On the previous occasion, three halls had been entered (p. 69b); after that, a door of ordinary size led to the audience-hall, where the King was visible at a window (p. 70a, b). We now hear of a third gate which led to the King's private quarters. All this suggests elaborate arrangements for the King's stay at the Poragri, something like a regular palace, with the dispositions of the palatial residence at Arakan.

Col. 2. (16) *To chápá with the royal chápá.*— In Spanish: "el qual los mandò luego chapar." The word *chapar* is coined from the Hind. *chhâp, chhápa, chhápá,* = mark, stamp. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. chop.

The practice of affixing only a seal and no signature to a farmán obtained also in the Moghul Empire. The sealing of a farmán was generally attended with long formalities, every one of those concerned with its issuing trying to make the best of it to obtain presents.

Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*, edn. by W. Irvine, II. 388) says: "usually the seal [of Moghul farmáns] is stamped in ink, and below it the King, dipping his hand into a red liquid, impresses its shape upon the document to be dispatched. This serves as a still more authentic confirmation of the favour or gift that he makes. This ceremony is only employed in matters of importance, for in other cases they use another small seal, with which letters and dispatches are sealed." This impressed palm of the hand was called *panjah.* Cf. also *Aín* (Blochmann), I, 258—264 on the regulations concerning sanads and farmáns.

(17) *Chiquè or Aguazil mayor.*—Alguacil (Span.): inferior officer of justice; also: high constable. For alguazil see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Cazee, Vizier (supplt.)

"The city of Rangoon has a Ieun, or Inspector of the waters, who ranks next to the Governor, a *Zicchè*, or Military Commander, and a Sciabandar, who has the inspection of the shipping and the exaction of the port-dues." Father Sangermano, *op. cit.*, p. 67. Cf. also note on Puchique, Manrique, p. 61a, ñ. 10.

(18) *Placing a farmán on one's head in token of reverence.*—A similar custom was observed in the Moghul Empire. For other instances, cf. p. 104b. F. Mendez Pinto mentions a Portuguese, Gonçalo Pacheco, who, on receiving a letter from the King of "Bramaa," fell on his knees and laid the letter on his head (*op. cit.*, 448).

(19) *Coron or catchpoll* (corchete).—Corchete or colchete (Port.): a clasp (French: crochet). In Spanish, corchete has the same meaning, and is also colloquial for a catchpoll, one whose business it is to apprehend offenders and conduct them to prison. The Corones were therefore the police of Arakan.

P. 79, Col. 1. (20) *Catuàl = Kotwál* (Pers.): the chief officer of police for city or town. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Cotwal.

(21) *The Christian prisoners of Cuami tending the King's elephants.*—In Ava

some culprits were condemned to the woods, and, if they escaped being killed by tigers or wild elephants, they could come back, their time over, "and pass the remainder of their Days in serving a tame Elephant; and for smaller Crimes they are condemned to clean his [the King's] Elephants stables for life" (1709). Cf. Captain Alex. Hamilton, II. 43.

(22) *More about these Christian prisoners.*—Since they had been captives for 13 years (from 1617) and had not been to confession for about 14 years, and one of them for 19 years, we must conclude they were Christians before they were taken. They came from Bengal, since they had been taken on the cossas of the Moghuls (Cf. p. 68b). Probably they were from parts near Dacca. Col. 2.

They had been forced to marry native women. Something similar occurred to the Portuguese and natives carried away captive to the mountains of Maum (p. 178b).

NOTES TO CH. XVIII.

(1) *Manuel Rodrigues Tigre, the Captain-in-Chief of the Portuguese of Arakan.*— The Portuguese seem to have elected their own Captains-in-Chief in places which were not under Portuguese jurisdiction. The expression *Capitan Mayor* is often in Portuguese "Capitan mór," and I was once asked by W. Irvine whether a certain Captain Mor mentioned in Muhammadan books as at Chittagong might have been an Englishman by the name of Moor, Moore, More. Most probably not. P. 80, Col. 2 *infra*.

The name of the Captain-in-Chief who met Manrique is given a few lines lower as Manuel Rodriguez Tigre. He is mentioned again at pp. 90b, 91b, 105a. I do not find his name in Bocarro, whose history covers, however, an earlier period.

(2) *The Royal Quinas of Portugal.*—The arms of Portugal consisted of 5 escutcheous, each bearing the marks of the five wounds of Christ. *Quinas* is evidently connected with the Latin distributive *quini*=five at a time. The Royal Quinas appear appropriately on the cover of Danvers' *The Portuguese in India*. The arms of Portugal are heraldically described in Camoens, III. 53-54. Cf. R. Burton, *The Lusiads*, IV, pp. 561; 593. P. 81, Col. 1.

(3) *Pedro Ortiz, an Andalusian, at Arakan.*—I have not found any other details about him than those given by Manrique. He had been in the service of the Bishop of Mailapur. It is curious that Jan Huygen van Linschoten, a Dutchman, was similarly in the service of the Archbishop of Goa. The reason why Pedro Ortiz had passed himself off as a Portuguese was that, while Portugal was under Spain (1580—1640), no Spaniards were allowed in the Portuguese colonies, and *vice versâ*.

(4) *Jean Ménage of Saint-Malo at Arakan.*—We learn not a little more about him from the letter of Father Anthony Farinha, S. J., which we publish as an appendix to this chapter.

(5) *Boro Padre.—Bará Padre*: Great Father, *i.e.*, the Father Superior. Col. 2.

(6) *Four Portuguese carrying a Priest on a Cirion.*—The use of the word *cirion*, which is peculiar to Arakan and Pegu, would show that the story happened in one of these two countries. Probably, Manrique was told the story by the Portuguese gentlemen who had come to meet him; in that case, it may have happened to one of the secular priests who had previously been sent to Arakan as visitors from Mailapur. Cf. p. 95b.

Ceriones.—Cf. Sir Richard Temple, *Ind. Antiq.*, September 1916, p. 155, where two quotations from Ralph. Fitch are adduced about the use of the word. "Mr. C. Otto Blagden derives serrion from *saren*, pronounced *sarĕan* or *sarian*, a swinging cradle; homonym, and perhaps the origin of Syriam, which is also written Saren, and properly Seriang, Siriang, etc." (*ibid.*)

P. 82, Col. 1. (7) *Digripará.*—This settlement of the Portuguese Catholics of Arakan was, says Schouten, two leagues from Arakan, higher up the river. It is called a *barrio*, which means a suburb, also one of the districts or wards into which a town is divided.

(8) *The number of the Christians at Arakan.*—There was a much larger Catholic congregation at Arakan than one would have suspected, considering that they had been so long without a Priest. In a few days, Manrique discovered more than 200, mostly adults, who had not been baptised (p. 82a). Two Catechists were employed to instruct them. Probably, a large number were natives, and some sort of native Catechism may have existed in MS. for their instruction. We may remark, however, that in 1713 Father Barbier de Sainte-Marie, S. J., says he found no Catechism in the native (Bengali) language at Chittagong. The first Bengali Catechism was printed at Lisbon only in 1743.

People came from distant villages to make their confession. These were probably natives too; for the Portuguese were all in the King's service as soldiers and captains of jalias. In 5 days, 89 confessions of 8 and 9 years' standing were heard (p. 82b). This again shows how long the place had been left unvisited. The baptisms conferred were 227, of which 160 of adults (p. 82b). As the Holy Oils had been burnt in a fire on a previous occasion, Manrique supplied the ceremonies for 709 persons (p. 84b). This figure allows us to estimate the Christian community at Arakan and in the neighbourhood at over a thousand. On the day of the dedication of the Church more than 200 persons received Holy Communion (p. 85b).

The definiteness of the figures is once more a proof that Manrique had brought with him to Rome materials from the scenes of his former labours.

P. 83, Col. 1. (9) *No Portuguese doctor at Arakan.*—The opinion of the natives was that every Portuguese or Firingi was a doctor (p. 42a). It is curious therefore that none had yet set up as a doctor at the Court of Arakan. About this time and later, not a few found favour at Native Courts as doctors. In the second half of the 17th century and in the 18th century, medicine without previous qualifications was a profession with many of them, which passed from father to son. It is one of the many professions from which our India-born Europeans have now been almost entirely ousted, to their great social detriment.

(10) *Manrique more than five months ill.*—He seems to have arrived at Arakan in August 1630, and he did not leave it till January 1631 (p. 146a).

(11) *Tabibo.—Tabîb* (Arab.): physician.

(12) *The Lucerrage plant, a powerful anti-venom.*—The word *lucerrage* remains to be identified, as also its botanical name. I do not find it described in *Hobson-Jobson*, or in Garcia de Orta's *Colloquios dos Simples e Drogas*, after consulting the index in Sir C. R. Markham's translation. Col. 2.

Manrique compares it to the *tramaguera*, aliàs *tamargueira*, *tamariz*: a low shrub, called a tamarisk (Lat. *myrice*). Cf. Antony Vieyra Transtagano's *Port.-Engl. Dict.*, London, 1773.

Arakan fevers.—"The main rivers of Arakan, when they approach the sea, divide into such a multitude of channels and receive such a number of navigable streams, that in the season of the periodical rains they overflow their banks to a considerable distance, and leave muddy and filthy exhalations, and are productive of the worst forms of febrile remittent, inducing in many constitutions irremediable debility, visceral disorganization and enlargement, which after years of lingering influence on the body, are finally fatal. The sepoys, who despised the custom of the natives of the country in raising their huts on timber, were from the dampness of the soil subject to low fever terminating in diarrhœa, with which they were reduced to mere skeletons. A most destructive phagedenic ulcer was endemic, in the same spots, putting on a scorbutic diathesis, destroying the whole of the extremities by the virulence of ichorous exudations, the patient enduring the greatest suffering, until colliquative diarrhœa hastened dissolution." From Capt. Pogson's *Narrative* (1831), p. 185.

(13) *Macassar and Bima.*—Macassar: "In Malay Mong-Kasar, properly the the name of a people of Celebes, but now the name of a Dutch seaport and seat of Government on the W. Coast of the S. W. Peninsula of that spider-like island." *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Macassar, and see *ibid.* Celebes.

Bima.—There is question of a Dutch factory at Bima, which was attacked in 1619. Cf. Danvers, II. 205.

(14) *The Sumbanco of Macassar and Bima.*—The word Sumbanco is not in *Hobson-Jobson*. In 1640 Manrique was the bearer of letters to him from the Governor of Manilla (p. 286a). P. 84, Col. 1.

(15) *Don Philip Lobo.*—Nothing found on him in Danvers' *The Portuguese in India*. He was not with Manrique, when the latter visited Macassar in 1640 (Cf. chapter 47), nor does Manrique say there that he saw performed the experiment of the sumpita. I do not find the name of Don Philip Lobo in Padre Manuel Xavier, S. J., *Compendio universal de todos os...capitães mores* (who went from Lisbon to Goa and back), Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1917.

(16) *Sumpita.*—Manrique must be right in applying this name to poisoned arrows, and not to the blowing-tubes used in the Far East, as well as in Northern South America and Madagascar, for discharging small arrows. The Malay word 'sumpitan' seems to be formed from *sumpit*, 'to discharge from the mouth by a forcible expiration.' (Crawfurd, *Malay Dict.*). Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.

sarbatane, sarbacan. There is no entry there under 'sumpitan.' Crawfurd writes (*Hist. of the Ind. Archipelago*, I. 21): "The chief missile in use before the introduction of fire-arms, was a small arrow ejected from a blow-pipe by the breath called a *sumpitan*, meaning the object blown through. This instrument is at present in general use by most of the wild tribes of Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes. The bow for discharging arrows is well known to all the more advanced nations of the Archipelago, but does not seem, at any time, to have been generally employed, the blow-pipe probably superseding its use, although a far less effectual weapon. It is found represented on the sculptures of some of the monuments of Java of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."

P. 85, Col. 1. (17) *Church of Our Lady of Good Success at Arakan.*—This title is not mentioned any more in Fray Sicardo's list of the Churches in Bengal (1681). He speaks of a Church in the Capital of the King of the Mogo dedicated to Our Lady's Assumption. If this Church was at Arakan, the title had changed after 1630. Cf. *The Examiner*, Bombay, 4th December 1909, p. 489. Sicardo writes: "Besides the fifteen Parishes, and Churches (*Feligresias*) or Missions above quoted, all of them flourishing under the care of our Religious in the Kingdom of Bengala, they also started propagating the faith in that of the Mogo, and so they passed to Arracan, where they converted many infidels, and from there to the Court of the Mogo King (*del Rey Mogo*), where they founded a Church dedicated to Our Lady's Assumption. In the beginning, during fourteen years, they remained in captivity, the King not allowing them to leave his dominions, nor suffering other Religious to enter, because of the war with the great Mogor. Later, he allowed other religious of our Order to enter the country. Their Christianity consists of about two thousand Souls *de confessión* (able to make their confession), not counting the Portuguese serving on the ships of that King."

When Father Gallo, a Theatine, was called from Bimlipatam to the town of Arakan in 1680, he found there 700 Christians, and a Church in bamboos (one with a nave and two aisles). They had been without priest for two years. Cf. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XI, No. 22, pp. 186-187. A Church of Our Lady's Assumption is mentioned as at Jambalcalda, which must be Jamalkhan, near Chittagong. Cf. *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, 1843, pp. 343-384. We do not know when it was started.

Sicardo has still the following: "They [the Augustinians] founded still two Churches: one o them under the name of Our Lady of Mercies (*Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes*). In both our Religious minister to six or seven thousand souls, and to one hundred and ten Portuguese, or their descendants, settled in that country. The large number of slaves bought by the Christians during the war between the Great Mogor and the Mogo, gives occasion to the conversion of many gentiles. Within the space of seventy years, the number of converts made in each of them [each year? *or* in each of the two churches above?] reaches, it is calculated, between five and six thousand adults." (Fray José Sicardo, O. S. A., in Ch. III of *Christiandad del Japon*, Madrid, 1696).

Another paragraph of the same author is still more puzzling. "*En Arrayal de Bencamatis (que confina con los Axamis) y su gente servia al Mogo, hasta que se passaron à servir con sus embarcaciones y armas al Gran Mogor, que les señalo à Dianga para su habitación; formaron nuestros Religiosos dos Iglesias;.....*" Translated literally, the passage is obscure. We propose the following: "Our Religious formed two Churches at the camp of Bencamatis [Rangamati], on the confines of the Axamis [Assamese]. The people there served the Mogo, who assigned Dianga as their settlement, until they went to place their boats and arms at the service of the Great Mogor [this was before 1666 when Chittagong was taken by the Great Moghul]. Here, the Christian community counts more than seven thousand souls *de confessión*, exclusive of the Portuguese and other foreigners, who are many. It is worthy of remark that no heretic or sectarian is allowed to settle in the whole of that region, without first protesting that he will live according to the Catholic Religion. Many gentiles and Mahometans are here converted to the faith" (*ibid.*).

(18) *Delicious perfumes of the East.*—Ludovico di Varthema (Hakluyt edn. of G. P. Badger, London, 1868, p. 238) says that after he had held *calampat* or aloes-wood firmly in his hand for four *Miserere mei, Deus*, he never smelt such an odour as that was, "which exceeded all perfumes." Then he [a Christian] took a piece of benzoin as large as a walnut, and half a pound of calampat from Sornau (Siam), and had it placed in two chambers with fire within. "In truth I tell you that that little produced more odour, and a greater softness and sweetness than two pounds of any other kind could have done. It is impossible to describe the excellence of those two kinds of scents and perfumes." Col. 2.

(19) *The box of the Crucifix.*—Cf., p. 66b-67a.

(20) *Perfume-sticks.*—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. joss-stick, "a stick of fragrant tinder (powdered *costus*, sandal-wood, &c.), used by the Chinese as incense in their temples, before their *deoses* or gods (corrupted to *joss*). The Spanish has *algunas curiosidades de olores, e peuettes. Pivete* is thus explained by Anthony Vieyra Transtagano: "A perfume made in long sticks, like sticks of sealing-wax, to perfume the house. When lighted at one end, if they set them up in a candlestick, they will burn down in a coal till all be consumed."

(21) *Catholic Churches entered barefooted.*—From Manrique we should understand that the practice in Arakan applied to both the Portuguese and the Native Christians. Van Linschoten does not state whether this Eastern custom existed at Goa.

(22) *Camaras and falconets.*—M. Seoane's *Neuman and Baretti's Dict. of the Spanish and Engl. Lang.* translates *camara* by "chamber of great guns and other fire-arms." So does Anthony Vieyra Transtagano's *Dict. of the Portug. and Engl. Lang.*, London, 1793.

On falconet, cf. n. 1 of p. 5 *supra*. A certain kind of gun was called *camelo* or *camelete* (camel or small camel).

APPENDIX TO CH. XVIII.

Journey of Father A. FARINHA, S. J., *from Dianga to Arakan, 1639-40.*

This account, which I published in the *Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, 1907, p p. 59-60, is from a Portuguese Annual Letter of Cochin dated 1640, and addressed to the General of the Society of Jesus in Rome. It refers probably to a journey made in 1639. Translated first into French by the Rev. L. Besse, S. J., of Trichinopoly, it was next translated into English by the Rev. C. Leigh, S. J., of the Madura Mission. We republish it in connection with Note 4, of Ch. XVIII.

The Native Christians and the Portuguese of Arakan, the residence of the Court of the Mogo, were without priests to administer the sacraments to them At their earnest request, Father Antonio Farinha was sent from Dianga to preach a mission to them. The service of God and the good of souls were greatly promoted by this mission. But in order that Your Paternity [1] may have an idea of the richness and fertility of these countries, I shall here insert the description, given by that Father, of what he saw on his journey by land to the city of Arakan.

Arakan is a second Venice; its streets are rivers; its gardens, valleys; its ramparts, mountains. For, as the natives of the country are naturally weak and timid, they have chosen for their city a site fortified by nature, and impregnable by force of arms.

The road from Dianga to Aracan is a royal road, or rather it looks like a street of Coimbra, so great is the multitude of people going to and fro.

It is a most delightful road to travel by; landmarks indicate the distance; so numerous are these that scarcely has one been lost sight of, when the next appears. I do not think there is any road more pleasant and agreeable, considering the great variety of streams and rivers that cross it, so to say, at every step. Some of these rivers you must pass on rafts (*jangadas*); others, swimming. All are of fresh, crystalline water, and swarm with fish which the traveller catches at pleasure. On the shore of the sea excellent cray-fishes and innumerable shell-fishes are found. Inland, the mountains seem to touch the skies; here and there great chasms and clefts appear, and valleys deep and cool; dense forests with endless varieties of trees clothe the sides of the mountains; squirrels gambol in the foliage to the great delight of the traveller; little birds chirp and whistle so agreeably that it is a pleasure to see and hear them. One cannot but raise one's eyes to look at the songsters; one cannot but listen to the sweet melody which they pour forth to praise their Creator. Although the road traverses an uninhabited country, yet in certain places rest-houses have been built by order of the king; to these a fixed revenue is attached. Travellers find there shelter and food free of charge; for it would be below the king's dignity to ask for money.

(1) "Your Paternity" is the term by which the General of the Society of Jesus is addressed.

Along the way there are several objects of great interest and well worth noticing. For instance, there are some very high red barriers; these, although built in the shape of arches and of mud, and although battered for centuries by the waves of the sea, endure to this day, as a warning to ships not to approach the reefs hidden in the vicinity. There is, too, the famous hill called "the head of the Horse" [1]—an immense rock, a natural landmark, which is descried from afar by all who navigate in those parts. There are also many other hills composed of craggy rocks, some more solid, others crumbling slowly under the combined influence of the terrific gales and of the furious onslaught of the waves. In some places, the scattered fragments of those rocks lead one to think of strong fortresses battered and demolished by the discharges of heavy artillery. Indeed, among the fragments, or even incrusted in the side of the hills, cannon-balls of many calibres are found, or rather, what might be mistaken for cannon-balls—stones rounded as if in a mould, and polished by the incessant action of the waves. Elsewhere, we perceive immense basins cut in the rocks, not with a pickaxe, but by the ceaseless dashing of the surf.

In the flanks of these hills, at different heights, we see caves, some small, others so deep that they fill the heart with awe and astonishment. And whilst the heart is overcome by these feelings, we hear the gentle murmur of the water percolating through the cracks in the stone, and the harmonious sound produced by its dripping along the vaults of the caves. Then the water, collecting into small brooks, comes rippling out of the caves. The sight of these caves and grottoes brings to one's mind the devout old hermitages of the Thebaid enriched with the virtues of so many servants of God, or the Infant Jesus in Bethlehem; for it is said by some writers that springs of sparkling water gushed from the rock, either to keep the weeping child company, or to condemn the insensibility of men, who, harder than the rock, did not melt into tears at the sight of the weeping Babe.

The Father, upon reaching Aracan, went in search of the Christians. He found them divided into three Bandels. One was called the Bandel of the Portuguese. There they lived alone and had a church, in which the Father said Mass. The second was the Bandel of the Japanese. Having been kindly received by the King, they had settled there in large numbers with their families; all were Christians. The third Bandel was that of the foreigners, including Dutch, English and French settlers. They resided there permanently and were not of those who went from country to country. Many among them were Catholics. They would come to our Church to hear Mass and make their confession, whenever a Father happened to visit the place.

On Father Farinha's arrival, they confessed and heard Mass. Special mention must be made of the Captain of them all, John Menagem. He was a very devout Catholic, and with his wife and three children lived there. When the Father

(1) At p. 178 (wrongly numbered 168), Manrique speaks of the shipwreck of Ignatius Gomes (1608) at the Cabeça de Cavallo, 'Horse's head.'

arrived, the Captain was very dangerously ill, and so near his end that he seemed to be awaiting only the Father's arrival to breathe his last. When he heard that the Father had come, he sent for him to make his confession. The Father hastened to the sick man; with tears of joy the patient embraced him, and returned thanks to God, who, at that juncture, had brought to him a confessor from a distant land, and when such a grace could so little be expected. He had been very sad; for a Dutch Captain, a great friend of his and a man of distinction, but a heretic, in his frequent visits had often troubled him with his heresies; and he, poor patient, out of regard for his nobility and friendship, had not had the courage to oppose him. So, he looked upon the Father as an Angel sent from heaven to save him. He confessed very devoutly, and with evident signs of predestination gave up his soul to God, three days later.

In the same dispositions died a woman, just as the Father finished hearing her confession: it seemed as though God had preserved her life to enable her to confess to the Father.

All the other Christians likewise made their confession, some even of their whole life, and many received Holy Communion. The Father baptised many children of the slaves belonging to the Christians in the three Bandels.

There were, at that time, many Portuguese prisoners in the dungeons of the King of Aracan. They were the crews of two ships, which, sailing from India for Malaca, had gone ashore in the King's dominions. The King captured them and threw them into his dungeons. Father Farinha, upon hearing this, was moved with compassion; prompted by his charity, which extended to the temporal interests of his fellowmen as well as to their spiritual welfare, he went to the King, and offering him a very humble present, certainly not worth a cruzado, requested him to set the prisoners free. Whether the good King was moved by the Father's words or his heart was touched by Him who holds in His hand the hearts of kings, we cannot say; but he granted the request. The courtiers were much astonished to see what the Father had obtained from his Majesty; such a favour, they thought, was not only difficult, but even impossible to obtain. As a matter of fact, the King would never release such prisoners. The prisons of this minister of the devil were not unlike hell; the access was easy, but all egress impossible.

The exulting Father led away his liberated captives, and, bidding farewell to the Christians who sought to retain him by violence, brought them to Dianga. I shall not omit to relate here a curious incident that occurred, as the Father appeared followed by the liberated prisoners. A Hindu yogi, a faithful minister of Satan, approaching the Father, said to him: "Since the king has made you a present of these twenty-five prisoners, give me one." That man, in his blindness, imagined that the prisoners were to be thereafter the Father's own property. Seeing that the Father would not give him one of the prisoners, he entreated him to receive him as a brother. "That I shall willingly do," replied the Father; "but, to become my brother, you must first of all become a Christian, and give up the worship of the idols which you adore." The yogi, of course, refused to

become his brother at such a price, and went away without the prisoner he had asked for.

NOTES TO CH. XIX.

1. *The Court of Arakan.*—In Manrique, the word 'court' must be understood as meaning capital. P. 87, *title.*

2. *The tamasha at the Varela of the Quiay of the Christians.*—*Tamásha* (Arab.): entertainment, show, spectacle.—*Varela.* Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. It is a term constantly applied by the old Portuguese writers to the pagodas of Indo-China and China. Origin doubtful.—*Quiay.* No special entry in *Hobson-Jobson* for this word, which is very common in the Portuguese writers. F. Mendez Pinto speaks several times of the Quiay or God Nivandel, in connection with Burma. See the word used in some connection or other in Mendez Pinto, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 107, 187, 189, 211, 297, 299, 301, 355, 359, 360, 389, 408, 411, 440, 446, 447. The chief temple of Pegu is called Conquiay at pp. 425, 430. P. 87, col. 2, *infra.*

3. *The Poragri.*—Here the word is not a place-name as in Ch. XV (title), but the name of a god, as in Ch. XVI (title), and Ch. XXIII (title).—The word is no doubt the same as Phra, Pra, Praw (cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Pra, and see supplement). Bowring (*Kingdom and People of Siam*) is there quoted (1859), "The word Phra, which so frequenty occurs in this work, here appears for the first time; I have to remark that it is probably derived from, or of common origin with, the Pharaoh of antiquity. It is given in the Siamese dictionaries as synonymous with God, ruler, priest, and teacher. It is in fact the word by which sovereignty and sanctity are associated in the popular mind." P. 88, col. 1.

R. F. Burton (*Camoens, his Life and his Lusiads*, London, 1881), Vol. II. 545, laughs at this distortion of Phra (Lord or Master) to Pharaoh. "This comes of reading translations; Pharaoh is Per-ao, lord of the great house or palace; not Phrah (the Sun)."

4. *Raulines.*—Sir Richard Temple (*Ind. Antiq.*, Sept. 1916, p. 156) shows the use of the word in F. Mendez Pinto (c. 1545), Ralph Fitch (1583-91), a quotation by myself (1605), Faria y Sousa (1628). He says that the word is still a puzzle, and refers us to Vol. XXIX, 28; Vol. XXXV, 268. I shall remark that the nasal ending of the word may be due to the tendency of the Portuguese to nasalize all our Asiatic words ending in *i*. Manrique may help to understand that a Rolim was not a chief priest, as Lacerda's *Portug.-Engl. Dict.*, 1871, states.

5. *Buddhist Theology.*—These discussions are so curious that I refrain from comment. We trust that Manrique understood and has interpreted correctly his antagonists, and that we have translated him rightly. Col. 2.

I transtate "porque aquellos cometian mas peccados" by "in order that they might commit more sins," although the subjunctive of purpose is not used; the meaning seems to be, from Manrique's objection (P. 90, col. 1), that "God infused souls into other bodies in order that they might commit more sins."

We direct the curious to Father Sangermano's book and Bishop Bigandet.

P. 90, col. 1. 6. *The Xoxom Pungri.*—Cf. on him Ch. XXII. The word Xoxom remains to be explained.

P. 91, col. 1. 7. *Mangoenes.*—The word is explained at p. 98b.

8. *Mainadares.*—*Mahínáddár* (Pers.): one in receipt of a montly pay.

Col. 2. 9. *Don Fray Luis de Britto e Menezes.*—"In 1628 and 1629, the Bishop of Meliapor, Augustinian, was also at Goa, governing the Estado of India. He came to India in 1610 as Rector of the College of Nossa Senhora do Populo [Goa]; was Provincial of the Augustinians, when he was appointed Bishop of Meliapor, in successor to D. Sebastião de S. Pedro; consecrated in the convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça, of Goa, Jan. 1, 1617; at Meliapor, while governing that see; was also appointed Captain, general of the whole Coromandel Coast; went in 1625 to succeed again D. Seb. de S. Pedro as Bishop of Cochin; was made Governor of the Estado of India in 1628, in default of the Viceroy D. Francisco Mascarenhas; was unable to leave Goa; died there on July 29, 1629, and was buried in the Convent of St. Augustin." His epitaph says he was: deputado do S. Officio. Cf. Casimiro Christovão de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas*, 2a ediç., Lisboa, 1897, pp. 131-132.

10. *The Achem.*—The King of Achin. "The name Achin is applied by us to the state and town at the N. W. angle of Sumatra, which was long, and especially during the 16th and 17th centuries, the greatest native power of that Island." *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Acheen.

P. 92, col. 1. 11. *Captain Don Francisco Coutiño del Sem.*—Danvers, II. 226—227, has the following under 1627: "Before the conclusion of the Viceroyalty of the Conde de Vidigueira, the king of Achin fitted out a fleet of thirty-five galleys against Malacca. Don Francis Coutinho, with sixteen ships, burnt thirty-four of them, and either killed or took prisoners 3,000 men, besides capturing 800 pieces of cannon. Owing to the continued wars with Achin and the rivalry of the Dutch, Malacca, which at one time had been almost the most important and flourishing centre of trade in the East, was now reduced to a very second-rate dependency and its revennes had fallen to 3,000 cruzados." This is taken partly from Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, Tom. III, Lisbon, 1671, Pt. IV, Ch. II, § 20 p. 402; but in the next chapters VI, VII (pp. 406—409; 434—443) there is an account of a later attempt by the Achinese against Malacca; unfortunately, pp. 409, 410 are missing in my copy. Danvers, II. 228—233 gives a long account of it; but it differs in many points from Manrique. On the second occasion there is no reference in Danvers to Don Francis Coutinho, but to Nuno Alvarez Botello. This second attack on Malacca was in 1629. All well considered, Manrique seems to relate the first encounter, and Bishop Luis de Britto e Menezes seems to have saved the situation on the second occasion.

On Don Francis Coutiño del Sem, cf. also Manrique, p. 173 a.

12. *Lucamane, the Achinese General.*—His name must be Lakshmana, which was the name of a son of Dasaratha and younger brother of Rāma. See on him Danvers, II. 228—233. The name is not distinctive, but a title in the Malay States, as we see from the quotations in *Hobson-Jobson*, supplt., s. v. Laximana.

"There used to be in Malacca five principal dignitaries.....the third is Lassamane; this is Admiral of the sea." (A.D. 1511). *Alboquerque*, by Birch, III. 87.

13. *Samatra* = Sumatra. The former spelling occurs also in J. Mendez Pinto.

14. *Santiago* = Saint James. The war-cry of the Spaniards engaging Moors and other infidels. The Portuguese used it too. P. 93, col. 1.

15. *Turks, aliàs Rumes, Parsios, Coraçanes and Malavares.*—On the Rúmís, see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Room. "Garcia de Orta and du Jarric deny the name of Rúmí to the Turks of Asia, but they are apparently wrong in their expressions" (*ibid.*). The Parsios were Persian Muhammadans, not what we understand by Pársís, Zoroastrian fire-worshippers. The Coraçanes were from Khurassan. Col. 2.

16. *Augustinians killed in the Strait of Ormuz.*—Fray Jose Sicardo, O. S. A. writes in Ch. III of his *Christiandad del Japon*. "The defeat of this Fleet [which went against Mangalore in 1618] was followed by the fatal loss of Ormus, which the Persians took with the aid of the English Fleet. On that occasion, our Religious sallied forth with the rest to prevent the enemy from effecting an entrance into the Place. One of them, Fray Pedro, received two bullets and died. Another perished in another encounter, after the loss of the Place, when General Nuño Alvarez Botelho went against it in 1623." P. 94, col. 1.

17. *General Nuño Alvarez Botelho and Don Francisco de Gama.*—See on the former Danvers, II. 223, 224, 228—234. After defeating the forces of the Achinese before Malacca, "Botelho sailed for Jacatra [Batavia], and by the way met a Dutch ship of seventy-four guns, laden with powder for the forts in that neighbourhood. She was attacked and boarded, but having taken fire, Botello ordered all his ships to stand away lest she should be blown up and they might be involved in the destruction. Seeing that Dom Antonio Mascarenhas did not cast loose, Botello went up to him with his galliot to bring him off, but as he passed the poop of the Dutch vessel she blew up and sank his galliot at the same time. All the rest of the fleet hastened to render such assistance as might be possible, but they found nothing above water except the almost lifeless body of Botello. He died soon after being taken on board [5th May 1630], and his body being embalmed, was taken to Malacca and buried in the Church of the Jesuits" (*ibid.*, p. 237). And see Faria y Sousa, Pt. III. 445—446.

I suppose the 3 Augustinians died on that occasion (1630); but then Don Francisco de Gama was no longer Viceroy. He had governed from 1622, left for Portugal on March 17, 1628, and was succeeded by Don Fr. Luis de Britto e Meneses (1628), who after his death on July 29, 1629, was succeeded by Nuno Alvarez Botello himself. Cf. Danvers, II. 488, and Padre Manoel Xavier, S. J., *op. cit.*, p. 73.

18. *General Antonio Telles de Meneses.*—The engagement with the Dutch took place on January 21, 1637, and another about the middle of February. Cf. Danvers, II, 258; Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, Tom. III, Pt. IV, Ch. XV, p. 507. P. 94, col. 2.

19. *Viceroy Pedro de Silva.*—Was Viceroy from 1635 to 1639. Danvers, II, 488.

20. *Father Fray Vicente de San Augustin.*—Frey Jose Sicardo, O. S. A., has the following in Ch. III of his *Christiandad del Japon*: "When in 1638 the Dutch besieged the Port of Goa, and Antonio Tellez rushed out of the place to defend it, one of our Religious, his Chaplain, was shattered to pieces by a cannon-ball."

NOTES TO CHAPTER XX.

P. 95, col. 1. 1. *Christian topaces.*—*Cf. Hobson-Jobson* s. v. topah. Fra Paolino is quite right there when he proposes "that topaz is corrupt for *do-bhâshiya* 'two-tongued, (in fact is another forms of *dubash*, q. v.), *viz.*, using Portuguese and a debased vernacular.'" It does not mean that later, or even in Manrique's time, when it was often almost impossibe to discriminate between pure natives and the mixed descendants of the Portuguese, the word was not applied to people of mixed descent. Manrique applies it, however, clearly to the convert Indians of the soil Cf. Father S. G. P[ereira, S. J.] and others in *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. II, July 1916, pp. 62-63.

Col. 2. 2. *Improper liaisions among Christians at Arakan.*—I understand that married women showed little zeal in refraining their husbands from intercourse with their female slaves, and that the lords of the land expected better service from unmarried them from married soldiers.

3. *Soldiers and bachelors synonymous.*—van Linschoten, Hakluyt edn., I. 1881, says that at Goa there were only "two manner of people, that is married men and soldiers, for that all young men unmarried are named soldiers, which is the best name that a man can have."

4. *Ecclesiastical visitors sent to Arakan.*—It is interesting to learn that the practice of sending such visitors existed at all, and that before this they had been secular priests. It may be doubted whether any of the Bishops of Mailapur visited personally Bengal before 1712, when Bishop Laynes, S. J., performed such a visitation. Mailapur became an epicopal see in 1606; before, Bengal depended on Cochin from 1552 or 1557; before that date, from Goa.

P. 97, Col. 1. 5. *Fray Bernardo de Jesus' excommunication.*—I know of this story only through Manrique. Cf. on the Friar and on Don Fray Andreas de Santa Maria, notes 41, 42 of p. 15b. Fray Bernardo led to Bengal in 1599 the first contingent of Augustinian Missionaries (Sicardo, *Christiandad del Japon*, Ch. III). One of that name, perhaps the same, was killed at Dacca in 1632 or 1633. We may note also, as a point previously unknown, that the Church of the Convent of Hugli, which was burnt down in 1632, had a steeple and bells.

Col. 2. 6. *The Captain of the Portuguese.*—See on him p. 81a, *infra*, note; p. 105a.

P. 98, Col. 1. 7. *The old Queen of Pegu.*—She was the widow of the King of Pegu, who had been killed by the King of Ava (p. 99b), a direct descendant in the male line of the Kings of Siam (p. 99a).

How was she in the palace of Arakan? In 1599, the King of Pegu was entirely defeated by the Kings of Taungu and Arakan. With his wife and children, he took refuge with the King of Taungu, who had married his sister.

At the end of 1599, the King of Arakan returned victorious to his capital with the title of King of Pegu, and taking with him a daughter of the King of Pegu, two of his sons as hostages, and the white elephant. In 1600, the news came to Arakan, where it gave much displeasure, that the King of *Taungu* (not *Ava*) had killed the King of Pegu, *his wife* and 13 of his children. He had done so, because the King of *Ava* came to rescue the prisoners, the King of Pegu being his brother (Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, 127). Cf. du Jarric, French edn., III. 840, based on F. Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annal* of 1600-01. Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annal* of 1602-03 says that the King of Pegu and 13 of his children were killed, but does mention the Queen as killed. In 1612, Philip de Brito and the King of Martaban seized Taungu, burnt the palace, and took prisoner the son of the King of Taungu by whom the King of Pegu had been slain (Phayre, *op. cit.*, p. 128). In 1613, while Siriam was attacked, the King of Taungu was in de Britto's hands (Bocarro, *Decada* 13). It may be that the old Queen of Pegu was there too and that at this time she visited the Churches of the Christians; for the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Franciscans had settled there between 1604 and 1613. When Siriam fell before the King of Ava in 1613, the old Queen may have been let go to Arakan, as one of (her?) daughters had married the King of Arakan in 1599, and two of (her?) sons were probably still there.

If the chief wife of the King of Pegu was killed in 1600, Manrique's old Queen of Pegu must have been some inferior Queen, and Manrique might still be correct in describing her as he does. His description would not tally, I think, with that of the daughter of the King of Pegu whom the King of Arakan took to wife in 1599. We do not know of any Catholic Churches in Pegu before those of Siriam (1604—13). The Jesuits were at Siriam in 1604 (du Jarric, III. 866) and the Dominians arrived the same year (*Hist. de S. Domingos*, Pt. III, by Luis de Cacegas and Luis de Sousa, p. 352).

8. *Christian women in the Arakan palace.*—Cf. p. 38a, *n.* 12. As Leon Dono's wife was a native, who had been in the service of the old Queen in Pegu, as I understand it, she may have been a Burmese.

9. *Mangoenes for the service of the Church.*—Lieut. Gen. A. Fytche, (*Burma Past and Present*, I. 246n.) writes: "On completion of the building of a pagoda by a royal personage, a grant of slaves (Phura-Kywon) is generally made to look after it. Such persons may be people seized for the purpose, and driven from their homes in another part of the country, prisoners of war, malefactors, or the inhabitants of a tract of country, the governor or leading authority in which has been concerned in a rebellion. There is no escape from bondage, either for them or their progeny. The following, taken from Buddhagosha's 'parables' is the Buddhist law concerning them. 'Although anyone shall give a substitute for a pagoda-slave, he cannot liberate him, for the slaves set aside by Kings as consecrated property for the five thousand years of the Church, are fixed and settled for the five thousand years of the Church.' (That is to say for the period of Gautama's dispensation.)" And more to the same effect. P. 98, col. 2.

10. *This honour was never granted before.*—I have so often come across this

kind of assurance given to visitors by the underlings of Eastern courts, that I believe it was the usual way to prepare for an enhancement of their *bakhshīsh*.

11. *The Old Queen of Pegu descended from the Prechaus Saleus of Sornau.*—For Sornau, Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Sarnau, a name often given to Siam in the early part of the 16th century. F. Mendez Pinto is there quoted (A. D. 1540). "All along the Coast of Malaya, and within the Land, a great King commands, who for a more famous and recommendable Title above all other Kings, causeth himself to be called *Prechau Saleu*, Emperor of all Sornau, which is a country wherein there are thirteen Kingdoms, by us commonly called Siam (Sião), (Orig. cap. XXXVI), in Cogan, p. 43."

We may notice, by the way, the fact that 13 kingdoms are mentioned here. We may have here one more allusion to the custom of claiming suzerainty over 12 bhuiyas or underlords; here, the suzerain would be counted as lord of the 13th kingdom, that over which he ruled himself and where he had his capital.

At p. 42 (English edn. of 1891), F. Mendes Pinto speaks of the King of Tenasserim's being at war "with the Sornau, King of Siam." At p. 398, he says he was wonderfully well received by the Portuguese settled at Odia, "the capital of the empire of the Sornau, "which they of this country call Siam." See also pp. 286, 288, 414.

As for the word Prechau, we find it in other connections in F. M. Pinto. At p. 99, there is a Prechau, Emperor of the Cauchins (Cochinchinese?); at p. 145, the 'Prechau Muan' is at war will the King of 'Chamay' and 'Champaa.'

Whether the old Queen of Pegu still alive at Arakan in 1630, was descended in the male line from the Prechaus Saleus of Sarnau, I have not ascertained. We may take Manrique as a sufficient authority in the matter.

12. *The 17 Kings of Capimper.*—Here again F. M. Pinto is our only help.—The King of Pegu was advised to take the empire of the Sornau (of Siam). "If he chanced to get it, he should remain monarch of the emperours of the world, and therewithall he should be honoured with the sovereign title of Lord of the white Elephant; by which means the seventeen kings of Capimper, who made profession of his law, must of necessity render him obedience" (p. 412).

"In the meantime very certain news came to the King of Siam, who was at that time with all his court at the said city of Odiaa, that the King of Chimmay, allied with the Timocouhos, Laaos, and Gucos [read: *Gueos*], people which on the north-east hold the most part of that country above Capimper and Passiloco, and are all sovereigns...had laid siege to the town of Quiteruan, with the death of above thirty thousand men, and of Oyaa Capimper, Governour and Lieutenant General of the that frontire." (p. 399). And see also p. 402 on Oya Capimper.

P. 99, Col. 2. 13. See p. 98a, n. 7.

P. 100, Col. 2. 14. *Three pair of curtains for three Churches.*—That made one pair each for the three Churches then in Arakan, *i. e.* Arakan, Dianga, Angaracale, the last of which Manrique built after January 1630 (p. 146b).

Cassa-cloth.—Not in *Hobson-Jobson*. Mgr. Seb. Rod. Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-*

Asiatico, Coimbra, 1919, I. 223, explains it as transparent cotton cloth coming from the East. He gives 5 quotations.

15. *Elephant hunting in the mountains of the Prè.*—That is the mountains of Prome. Cf. p. 41a, n. 2.

16. *The Tamaxa of the Atis.*—*Tamāshā* (Arab.): sight, spectacle, entertainment.—*Hathī*, *Hātī* (Sanskr.): elephant. A good deal of Hindustani seems to have been spoken at Arakan; at any rate, not a few Hindustani terms were used. See also *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. hatty. P. 101, Col. 1

17. *The Prince and the Infante.*—The first term applies to the heir-apparent, the King's eldest son; the second, to the youngest son. In Spain, all the sons and some of the nephews of the king, except the heir-apparent, are called infante. Col. 2.

18. *Camarabando.*—From *kamar* (loins) and *band* (Persian): a girdle; a zone; a long piece of cloth girt round the loins. P. 102, Col. 1

19. *Cris.*—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. crease, cris. A kind of dagger, the characteristic weapon of the Malay nations.

20. *Amara Bay.*—*Hamárá bhál* (Hind.): my brother. P. 103, Col. 2.

21. *The King's chapa or seal.*—Cf. p. 78 b, note. P. 104, Col. 2.

22. *The Drova.*—Cf. p. 8a *infra*, note.

23. *Catagaris or secretaries.*—Cf. p. 75 b, note. P. 105, Col. 1.

24. We cannot but admire the order and method prevailing in the administrative arrangements of the Arakan government. Col. 2.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Siripur.—Fr. J. Tieffentaller, S. J., writes: "Siripour est à 21 M[illes] de Siriramghar, vers Schatigan [Chittagong]." Cf. J. Bernouilli, *Descr. hist. et géogr. de l' Inde*, Berlin, 1786, Tom. I, p. 460. This may be compared with the distance, 21 kos, which the place is said to have been from Sangramgar.—The Jesuits say that it was near and opposite the island of Sandwip, 6 leagues off it. Cf. Fernão Guerreiro, S. J., *Relaçam Annal*.....of 1602—03, Bk. III, fol. 412. P. 18, col. 2, *n.* 21.

The twelve bhuiyás or underlords.—"There are twelve petty kings tributary to the king of Bisnaga. One of the twelve, more powerful than the rest, has made himself master of all the others. He acknowledges the king of Bisnaga when he likes, and sends them back when he pleases [*sic*], for he is so strong that in no time he will put into the field fifty thousand armed men. His capital is 'Maduré'; hence he is called the great one (*? maigne*) of 'Maduré'." From a letter of Fr. N. Trigault, S. J., Goa, eve of Christmas, 1607. Cf. *Vie du Père Nicolas Trigault*, par l' abbé C. Dehaisnes, Tournai, 1864, p. 234. P. 20. col. 2, *n.* 4.

"Rao Prithi Sinh...was one of the ancestors of the present Mahárája of Jaypur. He has seventeen sons, of whom twelve came to man's estate, and to each of them he assigned a separate appanage, which collectively are known as the twelve kothris of Amber." Cf. F. S. Growse, *Mathura, a District Memoir*, 2nd edn., 1880.

See also Manrique, p. 99 a, n. 11, about Siam in the time of F. Mendez Pinto.

In Akbar's time, the Moghul Empire was divided in 12 *subahs*. Why twelve? Cf. *Aín* (Jarrett), II. 115. I am under the impression that the word Bainha, Binya,

which occurs in connection with a number of Burmese grandees and princes, may represent the word 'bhuiyā.' See Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, index, s. v. Binya.

P. 29, col. 2, *n.* 9. Delete the first paragraph about Murray. What he describes refers not to hook-swinging, but to a form of suicide described by Manrique in ch. 23.

P. 54, col. 2, *n.* 12. *Mirdhá.*—Bocarro, *op. cit.*, p. 144, uses the word; "Mirda que é o que tomava o leme de sua jalia" = the Mirda, who is the one who held the rudder of his jalia.

P. 59, col. 1, *n.* 2. *Peacocks in Arakan.*—*Capt. Pogson's Narrative* (1831) mentions "the peacock-pheasant, about the size of a large hen: the plumage is less brilliant than that of the common pea-fowl" (p. 50).

P. 60, col. 2, *n.* 8 & 9. *Manchas.*—Lacerda's *Portug.-Engl. Dict.*, 1871, gives the word as obsolete in the sense of 'gift, present.' The pun on the double meaning of *mancha*, 'present' and 'stain' will disappear in the translation.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

The Nesbitt-Thompson Papers—V.

No. 23.

LONDON,

The 20th. May, 1786.

MY DEAR THOMPSON,

I had only time for a short letter to Larkins by the *Swallow*, which was general for the information of all my friends. Yesterday I received a short and hasty letter from you by the *Rodney* dated the 11th. January. I expect more by the same dispatch, 2 more boxes not being arrived; nor have I any letter yet from Palmer, and only one short one from Larkins. I look in vain for some tidings of my private bureau but neither of your letters have yet mentioned a syllable about it. Yet surely you had long ago received my first letters concerning it.

This will be carried by Mr. Willis, who sets off to-morrow for India by the way of Bussora, and has promised to take charge of a book of Mr. Burke's Articles of Impeachment and another of my defence. Shore has a part of the last: but you will now have it complete. It has produced an effect exceeding my most sanguine hopes. The publication of the Charges, (nothing appearing in opposition to them,) had began to impress the minds of all men to an opinion against me, and Mr. Fox exultingly said so to the House. Such is popular judgment! The world knew the character of my accuser, and had seen nothing but his accusations. It knew that something could be said on the other side: yet decided on the accusation only before it. In a happy hour, and by a blessed inspiration, I resolved to try the effects of a petition to be heard in person. Against my expectation it was granted; and every body came to ask me why I had done so imprudent a thing. Some called it rash, others mad, and all men condemned it, all but my *great* friend the Chanceller. I had but 5 days granted me to defend myself against 16 historical libels, to which 3 more were added, and other two, before the second day of my appearance. On the 25th of last month Major Scott presented my petition, and it was granted, the next Monday (the 1st May) being appointed for my appearance at the Bar of the House. On the 1st I attended, and was called in a quarter before 4. I read the 3 first parts of my defence, Markham and the 2 Clerks of the House the rest till ½ past 10, when I was dismissed. The next evening I read the rest. I was heard with an attention unusual in that assembly, and with the most desirable effect; for it instantly turned all minds to my own way: and the ground

which I then gained I still retain complete possession of. When I had finished the reading, I prayed for leave to lay my minutes (*i.e*, the defence) on the table. It was granted: so they became records of the House. A motion was made by Scott that they should be printed, and that too was agreed to, both unanimously. Sir Robert Barker was the same evening, (for I was dismissed by 7) examined as a witness and Colonel Champion and C. Marsack the next day. On the 5th Mr. Burke desired leave to bring on another charge, declared the last. It was admitted. This was the 22nd. I forget when it was presented. I received a copy of it on the afternoon of the 8th and the same day petitioned to be heared to this. I was ordered to attend on the 10th. With some difficulty I was ready with it in time; and am happy that, stinted as I was, and indeed most dreadfully, in time, I did not demand an extension of it for any part of the defence, though the most unwarrantable allowance had been asked and taken for framing the charge, which all the documents had been prepared. I attended, presented my defence but was excused reading it; for I was fearful of wearying my hearers. This has been the close of my labors. Since that Captain Jaques,(?) Major Balfour, Messrs. Gardiner and Gilpin, and Mr. Middleton have been examined. Middleton's evidence is not yet concluded. If Mr. Burke calls in more, Captain Williams and Colonel Popham will be called by my friends, though they too were the prosecutor's evidences. None are summoned on my part. Part of the next week will be given to the examination. And the 30th is fixed for debating the first question upon the first charge, *viz.* that the Rohilla War was a high crime and misdemeanour. It has been agreed to take the opinions of the House in the same manner separately on each articles; but Mr. Burke said, he should consider the judgment of the House on the first as decisive of all the rest. This may shorten the process. But it is impossible to say that it will; for nothing can be more irregular than all the past. I dread the fate of the next unhappy victim whom this precedent may doom to the same scene of iniquity; for the private integrity alone cannot stand it. In all this long scene, now exceeding 3 months, I have undergone only 12 or 14 days of personal labor; and I have no reason to complain of much suffering, as it has never affected either my health or spirits, nor (except a few days of the publication of the charges) my credit with the public; which I believe now stands higher by many degrees than it ever did. I have now too a well-grounded hope that a short period will bring the whole to a conclusion. I mean in the House of Commons. This is the summary of the business of the last 3 months. The detailed history would fill volumes, and much of this as portentous as instructive. They have destroyed the energy of their Governments abroad, and are precipitating their own destruction.

I have not visited either of the Ministers since the prosecution began: I have not been at the Leveé or drawing room: I have not desired the attendance of a single member: I have broken engagements which were officiously, but kindly, made to bring me acquainted with members of the House: I have disdained every species of management: I have acted against all that the world calls discretion: every artifice of a man who has long thrown away the check of shame has been practised against me. Yet my Friend, I promise you that he will be most foully discomfited, and my name shall shine the brighter for the means which have been taken to extinguish it.

I thank God I have not [been] wholly useless beyond my own little sphere, nor inattentive to the scene of my past service, but I cannot enumerate particulars. I have some reason to believe, and I hope it was so, that my known esteem for Shore contributed to the choice made of him for his present office. It is the best thing done for India for these many years. Lord Cornwallis goes with good dispositions, and a fair and honourable character and gentle deportment. I have not been able to serve Davies. I early applied to Mr. Sulivan; but unfortunately he had already obtained the promises of his friends for the gentleman of that name who is now at Madras. But the Board of Control has opposed his appointment and Davies will of course retain his post till the arrival of the ships of the next season. In the mean time if I can find a fair occasion to promote his appointment to it, I will. At present it is too delicate a point to meddle with, as the two bodies are at variance about the Directors' appointment.

Remember my commissions, *viz.*, the two tigers skins, and 6 pair of Masulipatam sheets for Comte Kaganeck; and the horse, shawl goats, and Bootan turnip seed for myself. Remember too to enquire for, and to send my ivory cott. I have received the cinnamon seed.

But above all, recover and send me the contents of my bureau. I also request you to send me the remainder of my papers. I miss many of the most valuable, and almost all the Consultations, except those which were bought from Lady Clavering.

I have corrected a part of the defence. You must correct for yourself the errors which remain. Let all my friends read it.

I am yet unsettled, not having been able to fix upon a temporary place of retirement in the country. Indeed I cannot yet go far from town. Mrs. Hastings who always mentions you with affection, is well, though not of such firm health as I could wish. I gain health, though but slowly. But no wonder. I have not time even for the society of my dear Arab, who is in fine health and spirits: but I cannot get a horse for Mrs. Hastings. If you succeed in procuring one for the *Berrington*, it will probably arrive before we shall have met with one of English breed. And it will lengthen

her life, and with it mine. There is a spur for your exertions. When Shore arrives, remind him of my application to the Board for Mrs. Hastings's banyan Etwarree and Kulleem o'Deen.

Deliver the enclosed yourself to Lord Cornwallis. I intended to have written it by the *Swallow*; but his Lordship went away the 29th and I was then in the midst of my defence, which prevented me. I have cut off the first charges, and sent you only the six last, to save package. The former you will have in abundance by the *Swallow*, and other ships.

Tell Col. Pearce I cannot write to him; but that I will labor for him as effectually as for myself when I have got through my present Impeachment. I have spoken and written of him to Lord Cornwallis. Adieu my dear Thompson.

Your ever affectionate,
WARREN HASTINGS.

Mrs. Hastings desires me to acknowledge the recipt of your letter and to inform you that the Begum's ivory chairs are of *very great value*, not of little, as you seem to estimate them. She requests that you will present her respects to the Begum (and mine, pray) and desire that she will not order any velvet or other worked seat to the chairs, as they will make the whole seizable by the Custom House officers. She also begs that they may be sent by a ship that will swim.

Tell Palmer that I have received his letter, but that I have not received a line from the Nowab Vizier Hyder Beg nor the prince, not since I arrived in England.

Neither have I received the recovered letter or any other from Nizam Ally Cawn. Nor any from Moodajee.

I have not written to Palmer, because I expected him in England. I am at the instant pressed to the last moment, as Willis lives in the City, and goes away this evening. Be kind to him.

[Endorsed:—]
WARREN HASTINGS ESQR.
London, 20th. May 1786.
Received 26th. January, 1787.
By way of Bussora and Anjango.

No. 24.

BASELDON PARK;
The 18th. July, 1786.

MY DEAR THOMPSON,

I just learn that I am almost too late to write to India by the *Intelligence*, which is to be dispatched the day after to-morrow, and I am at too great a distance from my letters to write from them. Yours indeed

are not on subjects which require reply. By the *R. George*, the last ship, I have only one short letter from you. This seemed to promise a speedy termination of Ganga Govin Sing's vexations, and I trust that Lord Cornwallis's arrival will finally close them, and that justice will be done to his merits and abilities. You will hear from others what justice I have received. With Ministry and Opposition both united against me I have been declared guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour in having *intended* to exact a fine too large for the offence, the offence admitted to merit a fine, from Cheit Sing. This has given consequence to my accuser, who was sinking into infamy, and had every reason to expect punishment for the baseness and falsehoods of his charges against me. It is new to me to see a criminal prosecution hang over a man's head the length of a Chancery Suit in a land where the laws will not permit the Jury to sleep over a trial for murder. What, or in what manner, the next proceedings are to be carried on against me I know not; nor can I take any measures whatever to direct them to a favorable issue. They will take their own course. Hitherto neither my credit nor character has suffered by the last vote, not I believe, in the opinion of an individual. I have not solicited, nor will I the interest of a single member of the House and after what has passed, am indifferent about the issue, provided only that it be speedy. It hurts me, I own, to be tried by Judges who vote with their party in a judicial question, as they do in political, and people talk of it as a thing of course. In the mean time my prosecutors (for they are many, and they are also my Judges) fill the papers with the most wicked lies to inflame the public against me, and my friends tell me that I must not give myself any concern about them; yet every body believes every calumny so uttered, if they do not affect themselves; their friends or party connections.

The worst effect of this business is, that it keeps me at a distance from all men in business, and prevents me from attempting to do the good which I think I could do. I see nobody, but in the character of a mere idler. Yet I have not been absolutely idle, nor unusefully (*sic.*) busy. However this affair may end, I see in this, and in two others not very unlike it, strong symptoms of decline in the power of this empire.

I have bought a very pleasant little estate of 91 acres in old Windsor, called Beaumont Lodge, *a modus agri nox ita magnus, Hortus ubi* etc., exactly answering Horace's wish; and if I live in England, I may probably end my days upon it; for I see nothing in England that I like so much. Mrs. Hastings is in health much as she has been; if any thing, better since we came to Beaumont Lodge. We are much interested in the success of our hay making, which has been prodigious, and never feel a tendency to be out of humor or spirits, but when we look towards London. Tell my friends that I am well, and remember them affectionately.

Whether life be long or short it is wise to provide for its most distant wants. I therefore remind you of my commissions. Tell Turner that I thank him heartily for sending me the shawl goats; but I have not yet received them; and am told they are all dead. Two of Lord North's are arrived. Yet let him continue to send others, and not forget the turnip seeds, and any other from Bootan which grow in England. I beg of you to send me seeds of the lichee, of both sorts; the custard apple; and if possible the mango, with such others as may have a chance of succeeding. I will make up a little collection for you.

It pains me to recur to the subject of my bureau. I have not yet received any intelligence from you or Larkins about it. You cannot conceive my anxiety about it.

Adieu.

Your ever affectionate friend
WARREN HASTINGS.

[Endorsed :—]
WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ,
Havelden* Park 18th July 1786.
Received Sunday: 11th February 1787.
By the *Intelligence.*

No. 25.

ALLIPOOR,
The August, 31st 1786.

MY DEAR SIR,

This letter I am told must go to-morrow, but on what vessel it is impossible to say, for there are two on the point of dispatch the *Ranger* and the *Severn.* The *Severn* commanded by Captain Kydd was taken up for the purpose and stands first; but the world says that she cannot perform the voyage and Mr. Macpherson is desirous of giving the preference to the *Ranger* which is commanded by his friend Captain Buchanan; but to do this directly is an act he thinks too daring, too decisive, too important; he has therefore recourse to intrigue, and trusts that by dexterously operating on the hopes and fears of Captain Kydd he shall effect his mighty purpose, *without comitting himself* expede Herculem. Behold the Ruler of East! a whole page, and that the first too—is too much for such a subject.†

I have received many letters from you, and I thank you for them all with my whole heart. Infinitely do I rejoice in the intimacy which subsists between you and Mr. Anstey, for in the love and veneration with which I regard you both, the first good which I could wish to either would be the friendship of the other. To neither of you I am sure shall I be

* Baselden at head of letter.

† The first page of the letter ends at this point.

unintelligible when I declare that even at this distance I participate in the pleasure of your interviews. I should wrong the friendship with which you have honored me, I should not deserve it, were I not convinced than when you meet I am sometimes the object of your thoughts and conversation. I know I am, and I feel the influence of your notice operating throughout all my faculties. It warms them to their best exertions, and makes me a better and a happier being than I should be without it. If I do not then feel your presence how do all the parts of the creation feel the presence of their almighty Author. These are things which teach me the immortality of the soul, and tell me that even in its present state it is not altogether the slave of time and place. Wonder not, my dear Sir, that I am an enthusiast; for I have this moment been reading all your letters, and I must be a stock, a stone to read them with less exultation.

You desire me to get a horse for Mrs Hastings as like to Soleyman as possible. She shall have Soleyman himself; for Bengal has now nothing like or second to him. Nor is it her good alone which I consult in this. Soleyman has a slight cutaneous disorder which he contracted at Angelo's and which I have never been able entirely to cure; but as it always disappears in the cold weather, it will I hope never appear at all in England. He is otherwise in perfect health and strength and will be able to carry Mrs. Hastings at least these seven years. Besides I know that she will be glad to see him.

Good horses are now become so scarce in Bengal that I fear I shall not be able to send exactly such an one to Mr. Corneille at St. Helena as I could wish. I have at present my eye upon a grey Arab of excellent temper and very fine proportions, and though from the roughness of his paces he is not approved by his present owner as a riding horse he is every way qualified for an excellent stallion. His former owner Mr. Pemberton idolized him and parted with him only because he was going to England. The horse cost 3000 Rs. at Bombay but I expect to get him for one thousand. You will I know think it a great while since you gave me this commission, and wonder that it is not yet executed But though your letter from St. Helena was dated 20 April 1785 I did not receive it from Mr. Basset till January 1786. It was impossible therefore to send the horse by any of the early ships and I was by no means anxious to send him by any of the late ones. I am glad I did not; for some of them particularly the *Dublin* we hear had very bad passages.

Your lost bureau, for lost I fear it is, has caused me great uneasiness. In seeking it I have spared no pains but governed rather by impulse than by any reasoning on the subject I have sought it in secrecy. I do not wish to have it generally known that you have sustained such a loss; the publication

of it would indeed excite public curiosity, but public curiosity would have only its own gratification, not your benefit for its object. It would besides increase the caution of the person possessing it, and thus tend to prevent that discovering which security (*sic*) and chance may otherwise perhaps produce. I have myself no recollection of the bureau; I never saw the pictures, I never saw Nob Kisshun's papers, nor do I now know more of them than Larkins has been pleased to tell me. Francis in a letter which I have received from him does not mention the bureau nor do any of yours tell me *when* he removed it. I suppose he removed it either at the eve of your resignation, or during your last visit at Lucknow. If the latter, it is probable that the bureau was plundered even before your departure and that Nobkishun was actually in possession of the papers when he made the villainous demand with which I find he insulted you about the time of your resignation. I am sorry to tell you and that from unquestionable authority that no sense of shame or of common honesty is likely to deter him from the pursuit of this claim. Davies, whose name I can never mention but with the admiration which is due to him for his sincere attachment to you, an attachment which did not manifest itself whilst you were best able to reward it, Davies told me a few days ago that Nobkishun had solicited an interview with him, but that not liking the character of the man he refused to see him till he should acquaint him with the general tendency of the business upon which he wished to consult him. Nobkishun then sent him word that he had a claim upon you to a considerable amount and that he wished for Davies's assistance in establishing it. Though Nobkishun's statement of the transaction was no doubt very general and very partial, Davies saw through it the villainy of the fellow, and absolutely refused to see him. I am sorry that he did this so peremptorily, for we had now lost one opportunity of ascertaining whether the papers are or are not in the possession of Nobkishun. Davies has since made enquiries as to this point and hears they are not, but it is not probable that he should now hear the truth. To guard against the worst let me entreat that you will by the earliest means furnish me with a minute relation of every particular of the transaction, for this will enable us to file a bill for an injunction should Nobkishun as it is evident he intends doing commence an action against you. But I should much rather advise you to have a bill of equity prepared in England under your own instructions by Mr. Ainge or any other eminent Pleader in equity. Mr. Forster the gentleman under whom I received part of my education, who is one of my attorneys and for whose abilities and integrity I can pledge myself will if you chuse to apply to him make this business very easy to you. He lives in Newcastle House Lincolns Inn Fields. The draft of the Bill thus prepared may be sent to me and if necessary Davies or I may

sign it as Advocates in this Court and have it filed. Let me entreat you, Sir, to adopt this measure. You will then be able to take the best advice which England can afford upon your own statement of the facts, and gentlemen whose sole business it has been for a long course of years to prepare equity proceedings will certainly prepare them better than I or even Davies can. But upon recollection, all this detail of advice is unnecessary, for Sir Elijah Impey is in England, and can best tell you what you ought to do.

In your last letter dated 3rd March you say that you miss several of your books and papers, particularly the Consultations for the "last three or four years." That in sorting your papers you should make this discovery I do not wonder, for they were never regularly copied, and almost the whole of the time in which I had the honor of serving you Le Ferlis and Rodrigues were employed in bringing up the arrears of former years. One of the works of this kind was the whole of the Maratta Proceedings in about 4 Volumes which I had directed to be copied, but which I had never time to examine. Remember, my dear Sir, that it was not only my pride and pleasure, but it was my busines to be always at your elbow, and that I had not such a man as Glover to watch the writers or stimulate them by his example. I could say much on this subject, for it has been much the subject of my concern and indignation. The disordered state of your papers I constantly regretted, because I knew that you would one time or other have reason to do so. I did what I could to remedy the evil, but with such assistance as I had it was incurable. When I came into your service there was not even a list of your books in the Office. Cart loads of papers of all descriptions lay in heaps unsorted and unindorsed, and so little co-operation had subsisted between your writers that the only sections now existing in Bowers's hand-writing are of Proceedings which had been actually copied twice before; whilst of many earlier, later and intervening Proceedings you had no copies whatsoever. With respect to the Consultations which you mention with so much anxiety, the copies of them were furnished from the office of the Public Secretary. Upon my representation to Hay about three years ago that they were much in arrear he promised to bring them up, and two gentlemen were specially appointed with salaries for that purpose. Bowers too about the time of your departure was nominated to the same employment with a salary of 300 Rupees a month. When I received your letter of the 3rd March I immediately applied at the Secretary's office for the copies. I found that they had not been made regularly; that those made by Bowers, if he had made any, were never transmitted to the office, and that the whole work unfinished and incomplete as it was, had been totally abandoned ever since the month of October last in consequence of orders which had been brought

by the *Dublin* for reducing the expences of the Secretary's office. Conceiving that this was an unnecessary extension of those orders and that a Resolution to commence a work of this kind was in some measure a pledge for its completion, I addressed a public letter to the Board requesting that the copies might be finished, and urging that those already made would otherwise be totally useless. I expect that they will comply with this request. If they do, you shall have the copies complete by one of the ships of this season; if they do not, you shall have them as they are.

I am happy that Turner and I have anticipated some of your commissions. By Captain Gerard he sent you a Thibet bull and by Captain Gerard and others some Thibet goats. Relying on the care and ability of my friend Turner I left to him the pleasure of relating every thing respecting those animals which his enquiry and observation had collected, and I am convinced that he did so much to his own credit, and your satisfaction. We have both sent to you at different times many kinds of seeds; amongst those sent by him I know was that of the Bootan turnip. Those sent by me were the seeds of the cabbage tree brought by Captain Forrest from some of the Malacca Islands, and the seeds of the cinnamon and leechy trees at Alipoor. By Captain Buchanan I now send you in one bag some seeds from the custard apple trees at Alipoor and in another bag some of the same sort of seeds from Colonel Kyd's (*sic*) Garden; with these Colonel Kydd (*sic*) sends his best respects and a drawing of the custard apple itself. The leechee failed last year both in quantity and quality. Colonel Kydd saved no seeds, all I could save you will also receive by Captain Buchanan.

Mrs. Hastings's large sheets were procured by Mrs. (*sic*) Powney from Vizagapatam. I have ordered some of the same sort for the Imperial Ambassador, and hope to be able to send them to you with the tiger skins by one of the ships of this season.

The 18th. September, 1786.
7 o'clock in the afternoon.

I am just returned from Calcutta whither I was compelled to go by the business of my profession.

I began this letter on the 31st. August. On the 1st. September I went to Calcutta and hearing that the *Severn* was to be despatched that night I wrote you a very long letter. The *Severn* and my letter were lost before they left the Pilot. To-day I found that the *Ranger* contrary to all expectation as you will perceive by the enclosed paper is to be closed to-night.

Lord Cornwallis is arrived. I am angry with myself that the flattery of my friends here should for a moment have led me to entertain hopes

which my own reason would have controlled and which the event has proved to have been totally without foundation. But for these hopes I should perhaps have thought the reception with which his Lordship honored me condescending, encouraging and friendly infinitely beyond my merits. As it happened my hopes have sickened. I have seen him only one, and from all that I can observe and learn have not much to hope from his patronage. Shore as if he feared that I might presume too much upon the recommendations which I have received, for I have been recommended not only by you but by Lord Aylesbury and Sir William Draper, has repeatedly told me in the only two visits which I have paid him, that no recommendation will as such be attended to; their efficacy must depend on the character of the man and the good of the Service.

Colonel Ross and Captain Haldane are his Secretaries. Colebrooke is to be his translator and what he omits Captain Kirkpatrick who is appointed his aid-de-camp will perform. Shore besides will always be at his elbow; and there is consequently no room for me. All this I should not value of a button, for I hate dependance; had I not lost that which alone could secure to me independence. *I have lost my office of Senior Council to the Company,* and have now no office employment or salary whatsoever under the Company.

His Lordship's conduct hitherto has been cautious and manly He is I believe happily aware of the character of Macpherson and will I hope elude his arts. By the by, Johnson told me that Stables had most solemnly assured him that he had seen a letter from Governor Johnstone to Macpherson in which are these words.—*You say that I do not attend to your injunctions—did you not desire me to remove Hastings, and have I not effected it?* I told you this by a letter which I wrote over-land about a month ago. Stables, whom I detest, breakfasted with me yesterday and confirmed to me most solemnly what Johnson had told me. His object I know is like the devil's to make mischief. It is fit however that you should know it.

General Sloper conceives himself to have been ill used by the Ministry —his greatest merit has been a kind of partiality for your friends and your measures. His greatest crime, that of giving ear to a hungry shark called Whitwell who has driven him into a number of bad acts—the elephant contract in lieu of the tent allowances etc., is unequalled for its partiality to one man at the expence of thousands. Whitwell however will I hope in the hands of Providence prove an instrument of good. Palmer who is very desirous of returning to Lucknow has laid hold of him and through him has got possession of the General. By the means of both he hopes that Lord Cornwallis may be prevailed on to send him to Lucknow. He is certainly fitter for that office than any other man now in Calcutta. Harpur

is a wretch, intent only upon his own advantage and without virtue enough to wish, or abilities enough to effect any thing for the general good.

Shore has been ill ever since his arrival. He found his illness waiting for him almost where he left it—they met at Madras. Poor Croftes alas! is dead—the certain intelligence of it was received this day from Chittagong. The season is remarkably hot, and unhealthy.

We have heard that Macpherson is to be made a Baronet, that Lord Macartney, Dalling and Sloper have pensions, and have read that you are impeached. Great God! who can hear this and think that there is any thing serious in Mortality. The articles of impeachment more than equal the ridicule of those exhibited against Gulliver. When Macpherson was lamenting their existence, and deprecating their dreadful consequences, I told him that they served to remind me only of those far more rational ones drawn by Swift.

When foes insult and prudent Friends dispense
In pity's strains the worst of insolence. etc., etc.

I must close, for to make sure that my letters go, I shall carry them to town myself. Let my dear good friend Mrs. Hastings see this letter. I have received hers, with the panel from Shore, and will make her orders my religion. She will have four ivory chairs and an ivory table by Capt. Lea.

Remember me to Halhed.

Phipps lives with me. He received Mrs. Hastings's letter by the *Swallow*, and intends writing both to her and you, but is from home and knows not that the packet will close to-night. I have omitted much that I should have written, and have written much that I might have omitted. Pardon me. Turner is well—and so am I.

Your faithful servant,
G. N. THOMPSON.

No. 26.

ALIPOOR,
The 19th September 1786.

MY DEAR SIR,

The two accompanying letters are from Rajah Govind Ram.

In the long letter which I closed last night I told you that I should send with it a drawing of the custard apple; but finding that I could not fold it into the size of a letter without injuring it, I have determined to commit it to the care of Captain Lea, who will likewise have the honor of conveying to you four prints from Albert Durer, and Davis's two drawings of water falls.

Nauny is gone again to England, one of the officers of the ship on which she returned to India became enamoured of her. They lived together

during his stay in Calcutta, and owing to this circumstance I had never the means of making the ten thousand enquiries which I wished respecting Mrs. Hastings and yourself.

Believe me your faithful servant,

G. N. THOMPSON.

I some time ago took up and paid a bill of Scotts for your honor. I have sent it to my attorneys who will present it to you The transaction is explained by Larkins's letter to you of the 22d Ocober 1785, from which the accompanying is an extract.

No. 27.

CALCUTTA,

The 14th November 1786.

MY DEAR SIR,

This I hope will find you settled in the country, after a complete victory over all your enemies, and in the full enjoyment of a reputation purer than gold ten times tried. Let me conjure you, my dear Sir, to become your own historian. You will otherwise lose much of that reward which you have so dearly earned, and be less the friend of the Human Race than I am sure you wish to be, little as it deserves of you.

I have just now been interrupted by the slight shock of an earthquake. Mr. Hyde who was sitting in the South East room of his house, and I who was sitting in the North West room of it both felt it distinctly. Upon enquiring of our neighbours we find that they also were sensible of it. It happened exactly at thirty three minutes past one.

I have been unable to find your bureau, or any of its contents In my last which went by the *Ranger* I detailed the reasons which led me to apprehend that the bonds were in the possession of Nobkishun. I am still of the same opinion, though I am far from repeating the advice which I then presumed to give you in consequence of it. The presence of Lord Cornwallis has sunk Nobkishun into great contempt, and I do not suppose that he will therefore presume to put the bonds in suit within the period which the Charter has fixed for commencing actions against persons who have left this country. The period is only two years, and is now consequently almost expired. If therefore he ever shall attempt to sue you on these bonds, it must be in England, and there you will be prepared to meet him

I do not forget the commissions with which you have honored me, and am in the course of executing them all.

Turner has sent to Thibet for bulls and goats, and hopes to receive them in December. It is of great importance that they should arrive soon enough to go in the early ships.

I have bespoke tiger skins and Vizagapatam sheets for the Imperial Ambassador.

I have bought an arab horse for Mr. Corniele, and shall send Soleyman to Mrs. Hastings by Captain Lea.

I told you in my last that the copies of Proceedings which were to have been made under the inspection of Hay and Bowers, and by gentlemen paid for that special purpose were never completed, and in consequence of orders for general retrenchment had been totally laid aside. I wrote to the Board requesting that they might be finished. Hay was directed to form an estimate of the expence which would attend it, and this he has never yet done. I will take the liberty of speaking to Lord Cornwallis on the subject. Do not however imagine that I have easy access to him. Warmly as I have been recommended to his patronage by yourself, by Lord Aylesbury, Sir William Draper and others, he has not given me the least encouragement. When I was first introduced to him by Mr. Macpherson, he told me that he had heard "much of me both from Mr. Hastings and Mr. Shore." I have since frequently attended his levies, but have been only once invited to dine with him, and from my first introduction to the present moment I don't believe he has heard the sound of my voice Though he speaks highly of your merits, considers you as deeply injured, and foretells your certain victory over your enemies, he yet stands aloof from the men who were most honored by your patronage and confidence. This I am convinced proceeds from two causes—first because he thinks it not correct or prudent to manifest a predilection in favor of them whilst your conduct is the subject of Parliamentary enquiry, and second, because this principle of prudence meets no counteraction in the prejudices or wishes of Mr. Shore who is too unalterably attached to his former connections to feel any regard for yours. No man more sincerely admires the integrity of his heart, and the elegance of his mind than I do. But the sun will breed maggots in a dead dog as Hamlet observes, and many are the reptiles which Shore has animated. I might go further and say that the blemish in his character is an injudicious choice of friends, and a blind attachment to them. Nor need I adduce a stronger proof of it than that Bristow and Davy Sing are at this moment his most distinguished friends. Davy Sing and Mohummud Reeza Khan indeed are the only natives who have access to him; these he encourages with the most marked attention, whilst for all the rest he openly avows both in his conduct and his conversation an extreme contempt. When Mohummud Reeza Khan came to Calcutta Shore went out to meet him. Lord Cornwallis visited him, and invited him to dinner. The prince, Saadut Ally, Mobaurit-u-Dowla, have been apprized that they are to expect no such civilities. Nor is any person to be appointed to meet and give them welcome. What may be the reception of Hyder Beg Khawn I am at a loss to guess, for I believe they as ardently expect his arrival as they reluctantly behold that of the

others. I never considered his intended visit with approbation, as I feared it might possibly lead to a reconciliation between himself and Bristow—forced on his part, and base and insidious on the other. If there is a sight on earth calculated to give the devil peculiar delight it must be the embraces of two such men. This event would be much more probable were not Cowper and Bristow deeply embittered against each other. Lord Cornwallis himself is by connection as well as by opinion infinitely more attached to the former than the latter; but the nomination of Cowper to that office would be an act beyond all others mortifying and disgraceful to Bristow. I do not think therefore that it will ever take place; and as to defeat it, Shore must have recourse to arguments, which will operate with equal force against Bristow. Bristow's nomination is not more likely opposed to the nomination of either, and I should hope irresistibly opposed, is every consideration of delicacy towards you as well as of decency, policy and justice. From these and other reflections of the same sort I was I believe induced to say in my last letter that though there were no *substantial grounds* for saying who would be the successor of Harpur, the *chances* were rather in favor of Palmer.

But why should I attempt to develop the measures or the intentions of Government? I have no certain means of information, and you will from all quarters receive the best. I consider you indeed as the sensorium to which all intelligence of this kind will be transmitted through a thousand channel.

You will be told no doubt that Speke when he was offered the controllership of the Salt Office virtuously declined it because the Molungees were oppressed and cruelly treated; the nobler virtue would have been to have accepted of the office for their protection. A virtue perhaps equal to either, would have been to have spoken the truth, and to have said "my present office of collector of Phanjthahy connected with that of silk manufacturer, is more lucrative, less laborious, and less exposed to observation than that which you have offered me—I will not therefore change."

I perhaps have said many things in this letter which I might think it right to expunge were I to read it to morrow; but in writing or talking to you, I have always thought aloud—and if you shall continue to approve me I shall always have the satisfaction of reflecting that you do it with a thorough knowledge of me.

Lord Cornwallis I admire exceedingly; he is mild, humane and just. His government is marked by regularity, vigilance, decision and great integrity. He does not know, and I fear that Shore will never teach him because he has himself the lesson to learn, that the views, the interests, the situation of the different States in India are subjects well deserving the

attention of this Government. Shore I am pretty well convinced derides as futile all attempts to prolong our Empire by establishing it in the hearts, and in the interests of the millions which compose and surround it. He thinks if I mistake not, that we exist by our own resources independently of the views and the opinions of every other State in Hindostan.

I understand that the present balance of revenue is less than it has usually been at this period of the year, but I am assured and by an authority which ought to be a good one that the rapacity and misconduct of many of the Collectors have made very heavy balances inevitable, and that the period is now approaching in which they will appear. Praun Kishun Sing asserts that at the end of the year they will not be less than 40 Lack.

Pitt's Bill is in nothing worse than that it tends necessarily to destroy the morality of the Company's servants, and to make them as regardless of oaths as a set of Custom House officers. There is hardly one of them, not even of the best, who is bound by his oath.

The packet is closing and I must conclude. I thank you from my soul for all your goodness to me and am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and faithful servant,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

Davies desired that I would make his best respects to you.

[Endorsed:—]

MR. THOMPSON 14 November, 1786.

The Swallow.

No. 28.

The November 30th 1786.

MY DEAR SIR,

This goes by the *Manship* and so will the horse for Mr. Corneile. What I have said to him on the subject you will see by the enclosed [not copied]. Upon second thoughts this shall go by the *Phœnix* for she is the best sailer. It unfortunately happens that the business of Court is always greatest and most urgent at the departure of the ships. I am now with Davies engaged for Praun Kishun Sing the son of Santiram,* who is endeavouring to recover from his Guardian Bannarassy Ghose† part of the immense sums of which he has defrauded him. The cause is now hearing, and engages the whole of our time and attention.

Lord Cornwallis and Shore will no doubt both write to you. Their letters will I hope give you satisfaction, and convince you that the apprehen-

* Santiram Sing, great grand-father of Kali Prasanna Sing, of Jorasanko, Calcutta, well-known as the publisher of the Bengali translation of *Mahabharata*.

† Baranoshi Ghosh after whom the well-known Calcutta Street—Baranoshi Ghose's Street—has been named.

sions of Palmer and others as to the real motives and tendency of their actions are not well-grounded. I saw Palmer last night, who seems much incensed at a story told him by *Pott* Coming from that quarter I do not implicitly rely on its truth ; and if true it furnishes but very slight grounds for just offence. I am possibly speaking of a subject, which not receiving Palmer's letter, you may be ignorant of.

Mobaurit-u-dowlah, Saadut Ally, Mohummad Reeza Khawn are here. Last night Mobauruch-u-Dowlah gave an entertainment to his Lordship. *Pott* says that Lord Cornwallis ordered him to make out a list of such persons as ought to be invited ; that he did so, and included in it some of your friends and amongst them Palmer and myself; that Shore hearing of this rejected with expressions of censure the list which Pott had framed and substituted one of his own, including in it the name of no person merely on the ground of his being your friend. I am not sure even if the story be true that the conduct of Shore is in this instance reprehensible, and certain I am that it gives me no offence. I must however say that under all circumstances his support and protection of your friends would do him credit ; but that he has not hitherto manifested the smallest attention to them, and that I do not believe he ever will. His health I understand is much impaired, and for the recovery of it I am told he is going on the water.

I anxiously wish to see you and will do it soon unless contrary to my most sanguine expectations the attainment of some Office or employment should make it my duty to stay where I am—*I have now nothing*—from dust I came and to dust I should have returned *but for what I retain of your bounty*. Though I have spoken to many persons for tiger skins, I have yet received only one. *That* was sent to me by Henckel,* but coming in the rains, got damp, and is not worth sending I have bespoke the Vizagapatam sheets. They are in hand, but I fear will not be ready for these ships.

The Board has ordered the copies of the Proceedings to be completed for you ; they are in hand.

Suliman, the ivory chairs, and a few other things shall be sent by the *Berrington*. Mrs. Hastings's precious stones have been valued, and are on sale, but none are yet disposed of. Remember me to her most gratefully and believe me, Dear Sir,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

* T. Henckell, Collector and Judge of the Dewany Adalat, Jessore. Henckellganj, Bengal, is named after him.

No. 29.

FORT WILLIAM,

The 30th. December, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR,

Two Chowry-tailed bulls and one cow arrived at Alipoor late last night. Though weak they seem otherwise in health and under the care of Captain Lea will I doubt not reach England in safety. That which was lost on the *Dublin* owed his death as we are informed solely to a violent storm off the Cape.

By Captain Lea I shall send you Soleyman for Mrs. Hastings; I wish he were younger but old as he is I cannot upon my honor find any horse so likely to be serviceable to her as he is. If however contrary to my hopes she should not approve him, I earnestly entreat that he may continue my property and that you will deliver him for my use to the care of Mr. Anstey. Since you left India horses are become very scarce in Bengal: and as I am informed this proceeds solely from the very heavy duties to which the merchants in their journey hither are again subjected.

To Mr. Corneille at St. Helena I sent an Arab horse by the *Manship* which sailed in November. I should never have been able to have procured him had he not been uneasy in his paces; this will not disqualify him for a stallion, an office for which he is peculiarly fitted from his beauty, strength, activity, size and noble descent.

I shall not venture to turn to any course of policy, for far from being able to unloose the Gordian Knot of it as familiar as my Garter, I shall in my profound ignorance of it but the more entangle it. The letters of Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Shore will I hope present you with the whole skein well wound off. General Sloper who with many defects possesses much shrewdness and good sense, and who professes a great veneration for you will be able to give you as Palmer tells me much light upon many subjects; particularly those relating to Lucknow. For my own part I see so many obstacles to the appointment of either of the candidates for the Residency of Lucknow, that I am inclined to think Hyder Beg Khawn will now totally exempt himself from the control of that office. Whether the annihilation of it would be a measure altogether wise or not I shall not pretend to determine, but Lord Cornwallis may I think be prone to its adoption, not only because it is likely to catch the hearts of the groundlings in England, but because it will relieve him from a world of importunity, and from the difficulty of deciding on the pretensions of different and contending parties. Harpur is unfit for the office, and having already derived from it all he wanted, an immense addition to his fortune, he would

now be glad to sneak out of it. Bristow stimulated by avarice and revenge courts it with an ardor which if begot by better parents would do him honor. Shore is his entirely, and knowing this Hyder Beg may easily be induced to profess himself so likewise. But Lord Cornwallis I think will never venture nor Shore either on an act of such decided hostility against you. Cowper is already in effect at the head of the committee, and Bristow's wishes will be an insurmountable obstacle to the success of *his*. Palmer's improvidence has compelled him, whether consistently or not, to seek with much avidity, what without any absolute necessity he too hastily relinquished. Were it possible that so decided an enemy of Bristow could ever be acceptable to Shore, or were it possible even that Hyder Beg could for a moment entertain so unnatural a belief, Palmer would beyond all question be the fittest man for the office, and the most likely one to obtain it. But upon the whole I do not *now* think he will obtain it, and if he does he will be *disgraced* before he quits it.

The villainous and various intrigues of Pott, Soonder Sing, and Roy Maunick Chund at the city haye given to Mr. Shore an opportunity of raising on the ruin of them all the fortunes of Mohummud Reeza Khawn. The Public Proceedings will I suppose tell you the objects of his commission to the city. In the execution of it, he will not I trust overlook the merits and rights of Munney Beegum, and I consider it a presage somewhat favorable to both that he has given much countenance to her Vakeel Nazir Mohummud Khawn a man of uncommon honor and integrity, and who far from concuring in the intrigues of her Dewan Roy Maunick Chund has invariably discouraged them. Nazir Mohummud Khawn is gone with Mr. Shore to the city. I have no doubt that Mr. Shore intends well, and thinks from his partiality to Mohd. Reeza Khawn that under his management the affairs of the Nizamut will be well conducted; but most others I believe consider Mahomed Reeza Khawn as the enemy of the whole house of Jaffier Khawn, and by no means entitled from his abilities, birth or services to any elevation at the expence of its honor or its interests.

The Granary at Patna is finished. I have applied for the commission to fill it; I have spoken only to Mr. Shore and Colonel Ross on the subject, and though they both think that Lord Cornwallis will be disposed to do it by contract, they have promised that if he does not, they will speak in my behalf. One of my motives was that the business should be well done, and as the best argument which could be offered against the idea of doing it by contract I desired only that they would read your minute proposing the plan, in which as I recollect you say that its whole success will depend on the integrity and honor of the person employed to erect the Granary, and of the person employed to fill it. His Lordship must have the power of

altering human nature if he can make honor and integrity the ruling principles of contractors, and contractors too who become such from the lowness of their proposals only. In truth I have no hopes of obtaining this or any thing else from the present Government. That this however may not be thought to influence my opinion of its measures, I declare that I think them in general well-intended; and that I esteem Lord Cornwallis from all I know of him exceedingly.

White has sent for my letters. Be so obliging as to inform Mrs. Hastings that I have not yet disposed of her jewels only because I wait for the chance of doing it advantageously upon the arrival of the Prince and Hyder Beg Khawn. But that I shall think myself compelled to sell them early enough to remit to her their amount by one of the ships of this season.

Accept my dear and honoured Sir, my sincere and hearty wishes for the health, prosperity and happiness of you both; and believe me to be with a most grateful sense of your goodness to me

Your faithful servant,
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

I do not talk of the persecution which has been suffered to torment you, for I cannot think of it with patience; I have never known an event so disgraceful to humanity.

No. 30.

CALCUTTA,
The 26th January 1787.

MY MOST DEAR AND HOND. SIR,

I have this moment received by the dawk your letter dated 20th May last accompanied by part of Burke's charges, and your defence. They were brought by Mr. Willis as far I suppose as they bear the post mark of that place. This is the first I have seen of your defence, for strange as it may appear to you, Shore never told me in any of the conversations which I have had with him that any part of it was in his possession, though your letter says it was. It is the more strange since he knew it was written and published principally as an antidote to the poison which the charges were conveying to the public mind, and that it effectually operated as such; and yet he here suffered the charges to be printed alone at the press* of Kirkpatrick whom he about the same time made aid-de-camp to Lord Cornwallis, and soon afterwards sent ambassador to Sindia. I say *suffered* the publication, because he easily might, and certainly ought to have suppressed it. The moment I have finished this letter, I shall carry the defence to Gladwyn's press† lately purchased by Morris Harrington and

* Military Orphan Press. † *Calcutta Gazette* Press.

Mair and have it printed and published without the delay of a moment. About six weeks ago the Governor-General received from the Directors by way of Bussora one packet containing the Act for amending Pitts Bill, and a few private letters—not one from you. The other three packets which had been sent with this were plundered by the Arabs in the desert, and have not been recovered. All that by this dispatch we could learn of you was the note relative to the Rohilla War, and the conclusion of the public from thence that all Burke's charges would be as futile as they were wicked and malicious. We were not long suffered to retain this reasonable hope, for on the 1st or 2nd of January Dacres received a letter from Mr. Taswell dated 14th June accompanied by the newspapers of that date which announced to us the damnable vote of the House on the rebellion of Cheit Sing. The newspapers contained at considerable length the debate on that occasion, and whatever may be Pitt's intention, whether finally to support or desert you, (for from his conduct on that day his intentions I think are very doubtful) he has acted like a cunning and therefore like a weak man. It is not *you* alone that he is sacrificing at the shrine of his enemies, but his own character for firmness, pride and principle. He is more of a Jesuit than even Burke, and so young a man too! what a cold blooded V—will he be at fifty. Though I am convinced that this vote would never have passed could you have stooped to those degrading artifices by which popular assemblies are governed, and which have been so scandalously employed against you I am from my soul glad that you did not, for your character is now complete. The former part of your life furnishes an example of all that is disinterested, great and good in action; the present period of it displays an instance of all that is patient, firm and dignified in suffering—it exhibits you though suffering for your virtues still relying on them, and gives to *God* (for I will not talk like a heathen) that sight of which Cicero says he is most fond—a virtuous man struggling with misfortunes. I have never thought that your actions were such as to meet the applause of the day—they are calculated for posterity, and what is better for eternity—a lasting fame, and eternal happiness will be their reward. I am obliged to look beyond this world for considerations that can reconcile me to your present situation, and there alone I find them.

I have not, my dear Sir, forgot your commissions I procured several tiger skins, but they all perished before the dispatch of the ships owing to their having been ill cured. Henckell who is very attentive to this commission has sent me others, which are now under the care of *Jumers Chumaur* and shall if ready be sent by the *Ganges*. In my former letters I told you that the large sheets had been bespoke, but could not be finished in time for any of the ships of this season. From the first moment I received your letter concerning your lost bureau it has sat with ceaseless and painful

pressure on my recollection. I have sought it by every means that I would have sought it if it had been my own; but without success. I was long in doubt whether or not to speak to Macpherson upon the subject, and at length determined not to speak to him, for I had not the most distant hope that he would tell me the truth, and telling me a falsehood he would be obliged to tell the same to you. If he has the papers he must deliver them *voluntarily*. If asked for them, he must either deny his possession of them, or admit that he has not delivered them so soon as he ought. Besides, it is most probable that he has them not; and unprofitably to tell him that you had sustained such a loss went against my feelings, for I am convinced it would have given him more pleasure than pain. The ivory cott I understand from Larkins was no doubt lost with the ivory chairs on board the *Hinchinbrook*. By Captain Lea I have sent 4 ivory chairs, an ivory table and two ivory ink-stands. Till my receipt of your letter to-day I knew not that the velvet about this sort of furniture subjected it to confiscation; had I known it sooner, I would have taken the velvet out. In future I will observe this precaution. Under Captain Lea's care I have also sent Soliman for Mrs. Hastings. I could procure no horse like him. He will carry her, and well too, for at least these six years, and in that time it is hard if England cannot furnish her with another. On the *Manship* I sent a grey Arab formerly the property of the Reverend Mr. Pemberton and very fit for a stallion to Mr. Corneile. He was a great beauty but very rough in his paces.

Under the care of James Anderson I have sent you a box containing all the copies of the Consultations which I have been able to procure from the Council House since your departure. At the top of the box is a list of its contents. I have also delivered to his care two drawings by Davis, and four prints by Albert Durer. Understanding from him that he had never seen Brown's memorandum relative to the state of India at the close of 1784, I delivered to him a copy of it made from a copy in my possession, in order that on his passage he might consider, detect and expose its errors. I told you in a former letter that the Board during Mr. Macpherson's administration had by the extension of some orders for regulating the expences of the Secretary's office directed that the copies of Consultations for your use should not be finished. I applied publicly to the Board requesting that the work should be prosecuted; they directed an estimate of the expence. Lord Cornwallis arrived; I applied again, and he directed that whatever might be the expence the work should be finished. It cannot I understand be finished these two years. I have therefore desired Hay first to let me have the *abstracts* complete and these he promises me shall be ready before the dispatch of the last ship of this season.

It will not be necessary for me to guard against the delusions of M——

You will I am sure with caution trust him. He will give you a deplorable account of the present administration. Though I owe it nothing, and am convinced I never shall, I must tell you that in most respects, and in all I believe that depend on Lord Cornwallis solely, the reverse of his own, and therefore good. It is firm, decided, efficient, and upright. If your past experience has not steeled you against the unjust judgments of the world, you will perhaps suffer some mortification in that respect and applause which no doubt await Mr. M—h and still more Mr. Stables. For all their object is to impose, and the world is made to be imposed on. The only disgraceful act which I have known to proceed personally from Lord Cornwallis, is a very high panygeric which he has bestowed on Stables both in the Public Proceedings and in a private letter. This is to give the bread of the children to the dogs—the meed of wisdom and virtue to ignorance and vice—it levels all distinctions and may, who knows, make Stables the successor of Lord Cornwallis. Macpherson will give you a long detail of all his own meritorious acts. A short time before his departure he required of all the public officers (except of the Revenue) that they would furnish him with a detailed account of their transactions during his administration; and I am sorry to say that men who liked him not, have been base enough to flatter him. He will tell that the late orders for prosecuting the members of the Board of Trade have opened all the arcana of Government to the scrutiny of lawyers, set man against man, and filled the service with consternation and alarm. No such thing. The whole Settlement look on with the most perfect unconcern, or at least, with no other concern than that which may be occasioned by the scramble for vacant offices. Bateman is the only man whom I have ever heard pitied, and him because he was a stork amongst the cranes.

I told you in my last that I had applied for permission to fill the Patna Granary if to be filled this year. I am glad to find that Lord Cornwallis is desirous of doing justice to the institution, and determines therefore that for the purpose of benefitting the building it shall stand empty another year. He is I am convinced a good man.

Davies and I are endeavouring to do justice to Dr. Thomas, by prosecuting Bristow for bringing him unlawfully and maliciously to a court-martial. I am very busy in court, *but the pay is so bad I hardly get enough to keep me. I have no salary.* Mrs. Hastings's jewels are in the hands of Praun Kishurn for sale. I hope to remit to her the amount by the ships of this season. Remember me to her most gratefully. I am much fatigued.

Believe me, Dear Sir, your grateful and faithful servant,
G. N. THOMPSON.

No. 31.

ST. JAMES'S PLACE,
The 19th February, 1787.

MY DEAR THOMPSON,

If the letter which I have written with this to Mr. Shore should be delivered to you according to its direction, and God forbid that it should be in one of the events supposed in it, I request that you will open and read it as addressed originally to yourself and that you will conform to the contents of it.

Your affectionate
WARREN HASTINGS.

G. N. Thompson, Esq.

No. 32.

ST. JAMES'S PLACE,
The 29th. March 1787.

MY DEAR THOMPSON,

I have not time to write answers to your letters. I have not yet paid your draft because I could not raise the money without loss. It will be paid in the course of next month. I have written a letter to Shore, which I have directed in case of his absence or death, to you, and in either case I have desired you to execute the commission which is contained in it. I sometimes flatter myself that as the thought is obvious, my friends in Bengal will have anticipated it. I suppose that of course Shore will shew you the letter. Mr. Pitt has shewn himself so unequivocally on the same side with Mr. Burke in the business of my impeachment, and they have so many followers, that there is no doubt of its going to the House of Lords. I am only fearful of delays. I shall be perfectly contented if I am completely out of the hands of the Commons this sessions. But that the impeachment will be voted you may be assured, though it will be strongly contested (—and on grounds with which I have but a remote and accidental concern), and the two sides of the House disagree upon the articles, each condemning and approving what the other approves and condemns. My friends in India will hear with indignation, and my enemies with ridicule, that in one charge I have been condemned for removing Mr. Shea from Furruckka-bad, and leaving Mozuffer Jung unprotected, and of course oppressed. I send you a paper which contains a brief statement of the charge which is to be debated to-morrow. I have caused 60 to be printed with the intent of distributing them among my friends: but am advised that it will not be prudent, as my friends will give them to my enemies, and these will turn them to ridicule, extract centos from them to turn my own words against me, and as no one will read them but those who mean to pervert what they

read, the rest will believe whatever is asserted to be quoted from them. This was done with the charge of the Begums.

I cannot yet give up my bureau. I am sorry that you did not make public search for it. I now beg you to do it, and obtain the support of Lord Cornwallis for making it. It is strange! Every January did Larkins's writers and my banyans take an accurate account of my dead stock and of the Company's dead stock as they lay in my two houses. Yet you tell me that the Company's Sircars claimed for the Company what they pleased, and were allowed what they claimed! But I know not why I complain. *I beg that you will send home every paper of mine that was left, and that has existence.* Many were left that I have eagerly sought for among those I have, in vain. Not one of my pictures has been sent after me, none of my Tibbet pictures, not one, but Mrs. Hastings's, of Zoffani's, and that packed so negligently that it arrived almost spoiled. I thank you for your intention of sending Sulliman. If he is not too old, he may yet do two or three years of service; at least his breed is invaluable. I have in vain sought for a horse that Mrs. H. can ride, and this is now my only chance. You will be pleased to hear that Mrs. H. gains health and strength visibly, though of a constitution still too susceptible. I am certainly better than I was the last year: yet I shall not be completely well till I can make trial of the drier atmosphere of the continent.

I am, my dear Thompson,
Yours most affectionately
W. HASTINGS.

[Endorsed:—]
Mr. Hastings, St. James's Place
29th March 1787
Received 17 August 1787
The Minerva.

No. 33.

BEAUMONT LODGE,
The 2nd August 1787.

MY DEAR THOMPSON,

I have not heard from you by any of the late arrivals, nor indeed for some time past; and the *Berrington* is yet expected, not without some fears for her safety. I am unreasonable, but I feel the disappointment of every packet that does not bring me a letter from you.

You will suffer by all the past advices from England in your concern for me. As for myself I have made up my mind for the worst that can befall me, and can with truth affirm that I have borne with perfect indifference all the base treatment which I have had dealt to me, expect the ignominious ceremonial of kneeling before the House of Lords, though I think it an usage that reflects more dishonor on that assembly for permitting the continuance of so iniquitous a form than on those who are compelled to submit to it, and on whom it is inflicted as a punishment not only before conviction, but even before the accusations against them are read. I am prepared for my trial, and hope (whatever may be the result of it, for I should not be too sanguine, if the only crime laid to my charge was that I was concerned in the revolt of America) that it will be ended before the end of the next sessions of Parliament.

I have written to Shore in duplicate and addressed both letters provisionally to you upon a subject which has a near relation to my impeachment or rather to the event of it. Let me know only, if you have heard any thing about them.

I have the pleasure to tell you that I pass the best months of the year in the place from which this is dated with great comfort and almost delight, and have the satisfaction of seeing Mrs. Hastings's health proceed in improvement, though it is yet delicate, and subject to frequent and sudden ailments. She has suffered more than I have done from my persecution, and I only from her sufferings (except the instance mentioned above.)

I had the pleasure to see Mr. Anstey a few months ago in town, well, and cheerful, as I suppose he is always.

I can give you no news: I am not in the way of hearing any. I never see any official men who are concerned in affairs of India; nor know what they are doing. You will hear that we are likely to be engaged in the present contacts (*sic.*) of the Dutch, and in another year, the consequence of it, which I believe we are striving to avoid by not the best of all expedients, negociation. If we fail, you will feel the first effects of it.

Mrs. Hastings always remembers you with affection, and desires me to tell you so.

Adieu my dear Friend,
Your affectionate
WARREN HASTINGS.

Remember me kindly to Turner. I am too lately informed of this dispatch to write to him. Make the same excuse to (*sic.*) me, with the kindest remembrance of me to Colonel Kyd.

No. 34.

Ravensworth. ALIPOOR,

The 18th September 1787.

MY DEAR AND HONORED SIR,

I will not attempt to tell you how full my heart is of all that concerns you. For these many months past I have been able to think of nothing else. I have beheld your situation with all the various and tormenting emotions which the contemplation of it must necessarily excite in a mind so deeply impressed as mine is with a sense of your merits and of the villainy of your opponents. Your fate is far removed above the lot of common humanity; you are one of the few whom Providence at very distant periods selects for great and important lessons to mankind. You have taught us how to act; you are now teaching us how to suffer, and the lesson has hitherto done you honor. When my own mind trembles at the contemplation of the mighty scene in which you are engaged I comfort myself with the assurance that yours beholds it without dismay, and that you will maintain throughout it the dignity, composure and magnanimity which have hitherto so strikingly marked the arduous and trying part which it has pleased Providence to allot to you. The injuries you have received will serve only to endear you to posterity, and to place the passions and affections of mankind in judging of you on the side of their reason. Humanity, nay Heaven itself, is interested in your success. Not only monarchs but whole nations anxiously behold the swelling scene, and however it may close, whether it shall exhibit your virtues degraded or triumphant, be assured that nothing can ultimately rob you of the applause which is your due—the applause not of a moment, but of ages, not of men only but of angels.

By the *Minerva* which arrived about the 15th of August Mr. Shore received your letter of the 19th of February and I received your letters of that date and of the 29th March. The employment which these have given to me has scarce allowed me time to answer them; for in consequence of them I was employed till late yesterday and the *Ravensworth* I understand will go today.

In your letter of the 29th May you say "I cannot give up my bureau. "I am sorry that you did not make public search for it. I now beg you to "do it, and obtain the support of Lord Cornwallis for making it. I beg "that you will send home every paper of mine that was left and that has "existence."

In pursuance of these directions I inserted in the newspaper the advertizement which I now enclose No. 1. (not in vol.) I need not repeat that I did this against my own judgement. In my former letters I gave it as my opinion that no good could arise from the publication of your loss; but I know not

whether I then detailed the reasonings and the facts upon which that opinion was founded.

So soon as I received your letter from St Helena informing me of your loss, I examined all your servants beginning with the lowest and so passing through the Frareshes, Dufterries and Sircars to the Naib of Caunto Baboo. I questioned them separately and offered to each a reward of 500 Sa. Rs. if he would enable me to recover the bureau. *All* of them I conceived could not be in a combination to conceal it, and if either of them had seen it in the possession of Mr. Macpherson's family or had known of its removal, he would not I thought when thus privately examined, have denied his knowledge of it. I could however get no intelligence from any of them. I then under various pretences visited every godown and every room in Mr. Macpherson's house; I could see nothing like the bureau. To have asked Macpherson for it could not in my mind have produced any good effect. If he had it, the enquiry would only have suggested new cautions for its concealment; if he had it not, the enquiry would have awakened his curiosity, not for your benefit, but for the gratification of the ten thousand bad and paltry propensities which form his soul. If the papers had in fact fallen into the hands of any European whomsoever his long concealment had placed an insurmountable barrier to his late discovery of them. In short, having in vain sought information from those who were most likely to have possessed and to have communicated it, I thought it useless to seek it from others, and in this conviction my feelings perhaps even more than my reason confirmed me. It was my belief that the bureau had been plundered either by Dr. Francis's sircar, the Government sircar, or your private Sircar, upon its removal: that they had taken from it whatever was of value, and either destroyed or hid the papers to prevent a discovery. If the papers did at all exist I conceived they existed in the lumber room of some native where time and vermin might soon destroy them; and that public enquiry was more likely to lead them into other hands than yours. When Lord Cornwallis arrived, Larkins anticipating as it seems your wishes but without consulting mine, communicated your loss to his Lordship and requested his assistance in remedying it. The whole result was that I had the inspection of a box containing a great number of returns, which had been purposely left in one of the lower rooms of the Government House, as property derelict. I have thus far given you the history of what has passed with respect to your bureau, in order that you may at least acquit me of intentional neglect in seeking it, and that you may from what I have yet to tell you, judge of the good sense or folly of the opinion upon which I acted.

In the facts which I am now preparing to detail, you will I fear see much to disapprove, though nothing I hope which you will not be able to forgive.

Within half an hour after your final departure from Calcutta, Larkins took complete possession of Mrs. Hastings's house, locking all the doors, and carrying away the keys. We did not return from accompanying you till the 12th February. Indisposition, the execution of several commissions with which you had entrusted me, and the preparation for the departure of the next ship, on which I sent you several letters, occupied me till the end of the month. Always having conceived that your effects were to be sold at your own house, and intending before the sale carefully to collect and pack up your papers I repaired to your house on what I supposed to be the 29th or 30th day of the month; but it was the first or second of March, and to my utter astonishment I found the young men of Mr. Macpherson's family in as complete possession of the house as if they had been born there. I enquired with infinite anxiety after your effects and found that all the furniture was removed to the old Court House, and that all your papers, huddled together and tied up in sacks, were removed to a small house belonging to Mr. Larkins. I flew to the Court House and rescued from thence several things which though of no great intrinsic value I knew you would not suffer to be sold. Of these I before sent you a list and required your directions concerning them. I then went to Larkins's where I found the papers as they had been described, huddled indeed together, and thrown back into a chaos ten thousand times worse confounded than that from which during a course of above four years I had been gradually but constantly endeavour[ing] to rescue them. I procured from the bazar several large chests with locks and keys, in which, but without any order, I deposited the papers and soon after removed them to Alipoor. To have sent them to you in that state would have been useless to you, and disgraceful to myself. I determined therefore to arrange them before I sent them. But this required so much time for its perfect accomplishment, that, not impressed with the belief that the papers would be of any great utility to you, and constantly occupied by other business, the design remained unexecuted when I received your letter of the 29th March last, positively ordering me to send home all your papers. In obedience to this order I determined to send them home by the *Ravevsworth* which was then under despatch, and though I could not hope to form any thing like a complete arrangement of them before her departure I entered upon the task of separating from them all the absolutely useless lumber with which they were encumbered, such as newspapers, pamphlets, detached music, innumerable returns, reports, and even reams of blank paper. In doing this I happened to alight upon one of Mrs. Hastings's letters which immediately led me to conclude that in this mass might be buried the contents of your bureau. The idea gave me spirit. I began a minute examination of all the papers before me, and collected from them those of

which I now enclose a list No. 2 (not in vol.) according to the parcels in which I have divided them. You will best know whether these are all or any of the articles which you have so anxiously sought; for my own part I hope and believe they are. That you may have some idea of the confusion into which your papers were thrown, and of the diligence with which I have examined them it is necessary to tell you that I found different sheets of the same letter in different boxes. I found Lord North's letter in one box and a very small piece of paper unfolded which formed its enclosure in another box. I could find no pictures or their frames. These possibly might have tempted the sircars, though the papers which they could not read, did not. From the minute detail which I have given you, you will have the satisfaction of knowing that no other person capable of understanding them has seen these papers but myself, and that I have not seen more of them than was necessary to their selection. All the others though not in perfect order I had packed up in two large chests and had sent to the Council House in order to go on the Company's freight, but a letter from White (No. 3) which I send for your perusal has determined me to reserve them for the next ship. The private papers I had determined to send under the special care of Mr. Younge, but shall for the reasons(18)* offered by Mr. White reserve these also for the next ship.

This examination of your papers has employed all the time which I had devoted to my Europe letters, will prevent my writing to you so fully as I had intended, and will compell me to neglect most of my other correspondents altogether.

Of the papers mentioned in the list, I have thought it proper to send you enclosed Mr. Vansittart's letter explaining an error in the translation of the Benaris sunnud. Besides the papers mentioned in the list, I have collected several bonds, most of them I fear of no value, which I shall deliver to Larkins.

In your separate letter to me of the 29th of March speaking of the commission which you had given to Shore and me you say "I sometimes flattered myself that as the thought is obvious my friends in Bengal will have anticipated it." The thought indeed was obvious, "and duller should I have been than the fat weed which sleeps in ease on Lethe's Wharf" had it not moved me. Whatever place it might have had in the breast of your other friends God knows that since I read the charges it has been seldom absent from mine. When Tofuzsul Hosein Khawn set out for Lucknow the only

* (18) [A duplicate of this letter has the following note in the margin]:—
These reasons chiefly were that the ship was too heavy laden, and therefore not safe. Her burthen was reduced, and I resumed my first design of sending the private papers under the care of Mr. Younge. It was too late to send the 2 large boxes—G. N. T.—18 December, 1787.

request I made of him was that the real dispositions of the Vizier and his relations, Sindia, and the other Chiefs with whom he had intercourse might reach the people of England and undeceive them.

Early in June last, I intimated to Bissumber Pundit, his brother Bulbudder and your Moonshy my anxious wish that you might receive some public testimony of the esteem and affection with which I knew the natives regarded you, and desired the two Pundits to take the opinion of their brother Beneram and Ally Ibrahim Khawn upon the practicability of such a measure at Benaris. The answer of Beneram and Ally Ibrahim Khawn soon arrived highly approving the attempt and declaring that the people of Benaris would eagerly second it, but referring back to me for the mode of executing it. In this there was some difficulty. Enmity is not only a more active principle than friendship but its operations are easier of wider extent, and commonly more effectual. A small effort of malice will often defeat the most zealous efforts of benevolence. The vilest reptile may deface the noblest works of nature, or of art. I thought of a public edifice, or a statue, but I knew not how to familiarize the idea to the Hindus, and the religious prejudices of the Mussalmans I knew opposed it. A written testimony from one part of the Company's territories, would have required it from others, and obscure and unsupported as I now am, I knew not that it would be in my power to defeat the arts with which that black-hearted fellow Mackenzie, and your few other enemies in Calcutta might labor to procure or to fabricate testimonies of a contrary tendency. Besides James Grant "whom I will as soon trust as serpents fanged" was then Resident at Benaris though on the point of removal, and I knew not but that Bristow might be his successor. Lord Cornwallis too was preparing to visit the upper stations and I believed that in the integrity and dignity of his nature, he would leave behind him unequivocal marks of the esteem he bore you, and banish from the minds of men every suspicion to the contrary with which ignorance, natural distrust or evil insinuations might have impressed them. Under all these circumstances I thought it prudent to suspend the execution of the measure for a few months and to leave it to mature in the minds of the five true friends to whom I had communicated it. Subsequent events have sanctioned the principles on which I acted. Jonathan Duncan who is really an honest man has been appointed to Benares; Palmer, chiefly through the influence which Davies the lawyer happily for the public possesses over his Lordship, has been appointed Resident with Sindia, and you have yourself procured me the assistance of Mr. Shore, and the consent of Lord Cornwallis.

I will briefly tell you the steps we have taken, and from my relation of them compared with the letters which I suppose you will receive from Mr.

Shore you will be able to form an accurate idea of the acts which are to follow, and of their probable issue.

Shore received your letter on Tuesday the 14th of August and sent it to me the same day with a short note informing me "that he would "speak to me on the contents of it so soon as his mind was little more "composed." I requested that it might be soon. The next day I met Larkins who told me that he had seen your letter, and that Shore thought the attempt impracticable. I rejected from my soul and with the fullest conviction every idea of its impracticability. Shore left Calcutta that or the next day and did not return till Wednesday the 22nd. I immediately wrote to him requesting permission to wait on him. He answered that he was going back to Barrackpoor, that he was overwhelmed with business, and invited me to dine with him the next Monday. In the mean time I wrote to Davies who was on the river, whose abilities are great, whose attachment to you is unquestionable, and whom Lord Cornwallis would perhaps consult, and sent to him a copy of your letter, with the measures which I wished to be pursued in consequence of it. On Monday the 27th I did not wait for dinner time, but as it was Shore's public day went to breakfast with him. He was at a loss he said for the means of doing what you desired—"the Vehicle"—I pointed out public addresses to the King and he certainly improved the hint by substituting the Company. Fearful of Bristow and the men whom he had placed on Shore I urged the necessity of profound secrecy till the plan should be matured. Shore admitted it, and after conversing on other topics we parted, he promising to write to Lord Cornwallis as soon as he could obtain a moment's leisure. I should have told you that in this conversation he lamented the general ingratitude of the natives, expressed his apprehensions that they would not be very anxious to express their approbation of a persecuted man out of office, and observed that Gunga Govind Sing who was one of the persons to whom you had referred had now no influence. He admitted indeed that Praun Kishun might be of some use to you.

I knew more than I then thought necessary to reveal to Shore. I knew that hurt by his avowed dislike to them, and disheartened by Lord Cornwallis's ignorance of the language, there never was a period at which the natives were more strongly attached to you than the present. Even men who had before intrigued against you wished for your return. The next evening I sent for Praun Kishun Sing, his father being absent at Moorshidabad. You don't know Praun Kishun—in your time it was his father's policy to keep him behind the screen, the better perhaps to secure his filial dependance. He has now been compelled to bring him forward. He is a fellow of great abilities and address, indefatigable

industry and perseverance, of an activity and vigilance that never sleep—and of the most undaunted courage. He has more warmth of heart, sincerity and honesty than is the common lot of Hindus, and obtains credit for more of these qualities than he perhaps possesses from a great openness of countenance and a manly freedom and cheerfulness of manners. I communicated to him but under injunctions of inviolable secrecy the commission we had received. He listened to me with eagerness, and declared that it was of most easy execution—that there were no obstacles to it. He wanted to begin immediately and said that he would that moment pledge himself for the cheerful and ready testimonies of all the Zemeendars, Brahmins and Reyats of Nuddea, Burdwan, Dinagepoor, Rajeshahy, Bheerboom, Theroot and Benaris—districts the revenue of which is little less than a Crore and a half of Rupees. I told him that in this interview I had only consulted him as to the practicability of the measure, that it must be conducted with great discretion, that nothing could be done till we received Lord Cornwallis's answer, and that even then I must be governed wholly by Mr. Shore; that he would therefore see the necessity of absolute silence on this subject till Mr. Shore should himself consult him. On the 30th of August Mr. Shore sent for me to see his letter to Lord Cornwallis. At the first interview with Shore I had offered if necessary to go beyond the Provinces for the performance of this business and in his letter Mr. Shore requests that if necessary he may be permitted to authorize my departure. I was sorry to find at this meeting that Mr. Shore had altered his mind as to the mode of conveying the sentiments of the natives, now thinking that it would be best to address them to yourself. I objected that the latter mode would in delivery impose some restraint upon the parties writing the addresses, would impose upon you the necessity of publishing your own praises, and probably lessen the weight of their evidence with the public. I thought that both the King and the Company had a right to know the real sentiments of the natives concerning a man whose principal imputed guilt was that of having been their tyrant and oppressor. I observed that the natives might with great propriety say to the people of England—"we have heard of your great anxiety for our "welfare, we have received proofs of it in the nomination of Lord Cornwallis "and Mr. Shore, and we thank you; but we should ill deserve these "testimonies of your regard were we to remain in silence whilst the man "whom we have always considered loved and reverenced as our"—Here Mr. Shore who was got off his seat, and proceeding to the breakfast room interrupted me by saying "O! Sir these fellows have no gratitude, "if I were to go to-morrow there is not one of those whom I have most "benefitted would give me a good word"—and so we went to breakfast.

When I got home I wrote to Colonel Ross informing him that I was joined in the commission with Mr. Shore and requesting that I might be permitted to execute it. On the 10th September Mr. Shore sent for me on public business relative to a vakeel who had been arrested and I was pleased to find that he now saw the propriety of what I had suggested. He recurred to his first intention of addressing the testimonies to the Court of Directors and gave this as the general outline of them. "We have heard of the charges "exhibited against Mr. Hastings, we understand that some of these are grounded on his supposed ill treatment of us, and we therefore think it incumbent on us to attest our perfect satisfaction with his conduct towards us, etc., etc."

On Saturday, the 15th September, Mr. Shore informed me that he had received an answer from Lord Cornwallis, and invited me to dinner. I went and found that Lord Cornwallis had given his full consent to our entering on the task assigned us, but seemed to doubt its utility to you. The day before I had received an answer from Colonel Ross, of which I enclose you a copy No. 5.

I was this day the 18th to have called on Shore to have conversed further with him on the subject of this business, but not having since we last met had a moment's time to think of it, and being fearful that I shall be too late with my letters I have sent him an excuse requesting that I may be permitted to wait on him after the departure of the *Ravensworth*.

Thus, my dear Sir, have I given you a very long history, though I only promised you a short one, of all that has been hitherto done; what is to follow must necessarily depend more upon Mr. Shore than myself.

My own idea is, that there should be separate addresses from the Nabob Vizier, the King, the Prince, Sindia and from each of their several principal dependants; and joint addresses from the inhabitants of Lucknow.

Separate addresses from the Rajah of Benaris, and his family, one from the Brahmins of Benaris, one from the inhabitants of the town, one from the reyats.

Separate from the several principal zemeendars of each district, joint from the Brahmins of each district, joint from the other inhabitants of each district.

Separate from Mobarick-U-Dawla and Money Beegum at Moorshidabad, joint from the inhabitants of that city.

Joint from the native inhabitants of Calcutta; but for the last particularly we must wait till the return of Lord Cornwallis, for Mackenzie and Graham have now the majority in the Committee, and the natives will distrust the sincerity of Shore.

Palmer is now at Lucknow, and now I hope Shore will consent to employ

him for this purpose at that place as well as in Sindia's camp. I shall propose it to Shore when I next see him, but am apprehensive that he will be fearful of giving offence to Bristow. As I know this is with Shore a point of great delicacy, I have not yet communicated your wishes to Palmer, nor shall unless Shore consents. To seek the specific and detailed testimonies which your letter points out would require a more direct interference than Shore would like to manifest. To each head there must of course be fewer witnesses, and it would be easier to trump up contrary attestations. We shall now carry it by force of numbers upon points of which all men are competent judges. I have not time to unfold these arguments, or to add to them many others which occur to me. What we shall do about the Nabob of Arcott, I know not. I fear in that quarter the influence of the worst of all your enemies Dundass operating through General Camell. The same at Hydrabad. I call Dundass the *worst* of all your enemies because I am convinced that jealous of you both on his own account and that of General Camell it was he who induced Mr. Pitt to vote against you on the Benares charge, and thus tempted the young man into a stream which has overborne and carried him away with it. Indeed, my dear Sir, if I wanted proofs of the superiority of your nature, I could find them in the unparalleled injuries which you have received from man.

Hydrabad grant I understand in a very superficial treatise on the revenues which he wrote for the information of his Maceenas Macpherson has endeavoured to shew that the profits arising from your arrangements in the Salt Department have not annually exceeded sixteen lacks. Mackenzie and a few other wretched niblers at your reputation are I am told labouring to maintain that statement by charging the profits with the commission of the agents, rawannah duties, land revenues and other deductions. Calvert is trying with very honest and honourable intention, but not I fear with the abilities of Vansittart to maintain the credit of your arrangement and to expose the sophistry of your opponents. You may probably see the papers.

Under the care of Mr. Ramus I have sent you six tiger skins, and two very beautiful cheta skins. The enclosed note from Mr. Redhead will shew you that it is not my fault that I have not yet sent to you the large sheets.

Colonel Kydd who you know has the superintendence of the Company's Botanical Garden has undertaken to send you seeds of various sorts.

I cannot conclude my letter without bearing testimony, as I believe I have frequently before done, to the honourable and manly attachment which Mr. Davies has invariably manifested ever since your departure, though I believe it was only latent before, to your person and your cause. He is I assure you one of the few men whose good opinion is worth possessing, and it is much to the credit of Lord Cornwallis that he knows his value.

If Mr. Anderson is with you, I beg you will pay my respects to him. Many letters which I have seen speak of the zeal, ability and prudence which he has displayed in your behalf. The fidelity of his attachment to you commands the respect even of your enemies, but it endears him to your friends; and I can with truth assert that his reputation great as it always was in this Settlement is now much increased.

I shall not trouble you with my respects to Mrs. Hastings as I am now going to write to her.

Believe me to be, Dear Sir,

The 19th September 1787. Your obliged, grateful and faithful servant,

GEORGE NESBITT THOMPSON.

P.S. I am very sorry to learn that the picture of Mrs. Hastings was injured on the voyage. I wonder at it, for I should have supposed that Zophany would have been prompted by interest and enabled by experience to have packed it properly. I requested him to deliver your other pictures to my charge, and he promised to do so, but upon his going away he sent them all to Dick Johnson without any directions. I shall write to him at Lucknow. I have only two pictures of yours, the two Boteas and Rogaba's head.

No. 35.

FORT WILLIAM,

9th October 1787.

TO MAJOR GRATTAN.

Dear Sir,

The opinion which I understand you entertain of Mr. Hastings's character, and that which I know is universally entertained of yours, induce me to trouble you on a subject which nearly affects his reputation, and which concerns therefore, situated as he now is, the common interests of humanity. I am convinced that in either view of the subject you will not deem it unworthy of your attention.

In order to clear his reputation from many of the calumnies with which it has been aspersed Mr. Hastings has appealed through Mr. Shore and myself to the natives of India for their opinion of him. That you may see the motives and the object of Mr. Hastings in this appeal, I do myself the honour of sending you a copy of his letter addressed primarily to Mr. Shore but in his absence to me, and a copy of one which I at the same time received addressed immediately to myself.

It* may be proper to mention for your private information that* we have applied to Lord Cornwallis for his permission to execute the commission contained in these letters, and that his Lordship has been pleased to grant it in the fullest terms.

You will observe that amongst the persons to whom Mr. Hastings particularly appeals, is the Nabob of Arcot; and if I may trust to my own knowledge of Mr. Hastings's conduct towards that chief, or to the sense of it which His Excellency has repeatedly and earnestly expressed, he will not I am convinced be backward in bearing testimony to those principles of humanity, generosity and justice which have been so often manifested in the support of his interest, and which he has seen so invariably influence the actions of Mr. Hastings.

In considering the mode by which we should call on the Nabob for a declaration of his sentiments it occurred both to Mr. Shore and myself that we might with great propriety request the favor of your services on this occasion; and it is with his knowledge and consent that I have now the honor of addressing you.

In order to avoid the possible imputation of any partial suggestions to His Excellency you will perhaps think it more expedient generally to request his opinion of Mr. Hastings's conduct during his administration than to require it on the several particular and specific points which Mr. Hastings has detailed in his letter.

The declaration of His Excellency's sentiments should be addressed to the Court of Directors and should of course be transmitted through the Governor in Council. Its form, and still more its substance must be left to his own judgement, and to the impressions which he retains of Mr. Hastings's character.

I am, etc.,

[Unsigned.]

[Endorsed.] Draft of letter to Major Grattan.

Copy.

MOIDAPORE,

The 5th December 1787.

My dear Davies,

"I am at the Town's End of Life." In coursing this morning, my mare tumbled over a leap and falling on my thigh broke it. Fendall was fortunately with me, placed me on a villager's cot and sent me to Moidapoor, which was

* ..... * This interlinement was made in compliance with Mr. Shore's advice.

distant about three miles. He in the meantime rode to Cossimbazar for Dr. Lind, who assisted by a Dr. Stokes, who lives at Fendall's, set it about four hours after the accident. It has dispelled like enchantment several delightful scenes of business and pleasure, which my imagination had planned for the ensuing twelve months.

I feel, however, how much the mind is above external accidents, for mine is already accommodated to the situation of its gross companion and is busy in forming new schemes of happiness

The fracture is simple; and though full four hours had elapsed before any attempt was made to remedy it, it is even yet unattended by the smallest degree of inflammation.

I assure you, Davies, I for no reason so much regret my misfortune, as that it must necessarily interfere with my execution of the commission which I have received from our friend. *Here* it will now execute itself—for as I have told Johnson, various, discordant, and even hostile as are all the principal people at this place in their views, opinions and interests they are yet uniform and zealous in their regard for Mr. Hastings.

What plan I shall form for the accomplishment of this business in Calcutta, I yet know not. It must be governed by information which I am in daily hopes of receiving.

Remember me to Miss Davies and believe me,

Yours most truly,
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[Enclosed in a letter from T. H. Davies to Warren Hastings, dated Calcutta, the 9th December 1787, (add. MSS 29171, folio 48).]

No. 36

MOIDAPOOR,
The 13th December, 1787.

TO JOHN SHORE, ESQ.

My dear Sir,

You will perhaps have heard that about eight days ago I had the misfortune by the fall of my horse to break my thigh. I have now the pleasure to inform you that I am promised a speedy and perfect cure, and that the business which brought me here is not likely to suffer any material delay. Having indeed put it into motion before I received my accident, it has since from its own nature continued progresive. For though the principal natives at the City are apparently very much divided in their opinions, views and interests they are yet uniformly zealous and ardent in their affection for Mr Hastings.

I hope P. K. Sing has not failed to apply to you for letters to the several Collectors. The more I consider this step the more I am convinced of its propriety and necessity. P. K. Sing will otherwise appear to be acting without any authority from Mr. Hastings, and many gentlemen who would be perfectly indifferent as to the event of the appeal would yet think it incumbent on them from the purest principles to oppose so unauthorized an attempt.

Johnson if requested would perhaps write to many of the Collectors, but his doing it would prima facie be received as evidence that you had declined it: and few Collectors would chuse to permit an act, which they saw you did not even chuse to avow a knowledge of. Coming from you the notification would necessarily contain all that is required. It would manifest beyond all doubt that Mr. Hastings had made the appeal, and that Government did not oppose it. Coming from any other quarter it could not have that authority.

The attempt cannot remain secret. It is commenced and must now be prosecuted. There are certain steps which you may take with the strictest neutrality, and those I hope you will take decidedly. The firmer and the more measured they are, the less is their direction likely to be misconstrued. Whilst their impressions are plain and obvious they can neither be mistaken or censured.

Believe me, Dear Sir,
Your most obliged and obedient humble servant,
(Signed) Geo. NESBITT THOMPSON. *

P. S. By a letter which I have this moment received from Lucknow without a date, but dispatched the 30th November Tofuzzul Hosien Khawn informs me that the business is there at a stand: for that Mr. Ives has not yet declared "that Government has no objection to the performance of it," and that the Nabob having been taught to expect such a declaration is afraid to deliver his suffrage without it. Let me implore you, my Dear Sir, to remove without a moment's delay this undue impediment. It must arise from some mistake in Mr. Ives.

No. 37.

MOIDAPOOR,
The 18th December, 1787.

My Dear Sir,

I have fortunately brought with me a duplicate of my last letter and of one of its enclosures and have now the honor to send them to you. From

* [Signature only in G. N. Thompson's own handwriting]

the beginning of October till nearly the middle of November I was confined to my house, and part of the time to my bed, by a constant and crowded succession of large and painful boils. On the 22nd. I set out for Moorshedabad by water in order to execute your commission. I arrived on the 29th; and on the 5th of December had the misfortune to break my thigh. I was coursing, and having occasion to leap a small dry ditch, my mare, though a very fine one, did not sufficiently exert herself and tumbled into it. The fracture is happily a simple one, and threatens as I am assured by Dr. Lynd no lasting ill-consequences. The bitterest pang I feel is from the apprehension that my confinement may possibly impede the complete accomplishment of the business which you have entrusted to me.

After I had wrote my last letter to you it occurred to me that it would be of great importance to obtain regular and authenticated translations of the addresses, and to have both recorded on the Company's proceedings. For this purpose I proposed to Mr. Shore that they should be delivered to the Residents at the several stations with a request on the part of the persons signing them that they should be forwarded to the Governor-General in Council, translated and transmitted with the translations to the Court of Directors.

At Lucknow Dr. Blaine in the absence of Palmer and assisted by Tofuzzul Hosein Khawn has very liberally undertaken the execution of the commission at Lucknow. There was for some time a delay occasioned as I was informed by Mr. Ives's neglecting to declare that Government had no objection to the natives declaring their sentiments. I yesterday however received a letter from Tofuzzul Hosein Khawn in which he informs me that the obstacle is removed and that the business is in a fair train. I by the same dawk received a letter from Palmer covering an addess from the Nabob of *Furruckabad* and his minister, and another from the merchants of that place, with a letter to Lord Cornwallis requesting that they may be transmitted to the Court of Directors. Palmer promises me one from Sindia.

From *Benáris* Ally Ibrahim Khawn five weeks ago sent me 2 addresses one from the Mussillmans, and the other from the Brahmins. He promised me others more complete. I therefore returned the first requesting that they might be transmitted to the Board through the Resident. I have not since heard from him.

At *Moorshedabad*, the Nabob, his mother, the Money Beegum, and about four others of the House of Jaffier All Khawn have signed a very full declaration. They are zealously your friends, but all divided between themselves and fearful of their common enemies. At this place there will be many more signatures.

Within *the Provinces*, P. Kishun Sing has already obtained the signature of many principal zemeendars. If Mr. Shore would openly have authorized

him to act, that part of the commission would before this time have been completely executed. But many of the English Collectors, and of the principal natives, though by no means hostile to you, have under an idea that he was acting without any authority thought it right to oppose him. This fact I learnt from Cowper who has behaved very honorably. The last person I saw on leaving Calcutta was Mr. Shore, to whom I stated these inconveniences, and urged him to write officially to the Collectors simply informing them "that you had appealed, that P. K. Sing, had offered to collect the suffrages and that Government had no objection." He promised to write to as many as Prawn Kish. Sing should require.

Fearful that he might have forgot his promise, I a few days ago wrote to him a letter of which I enclose you a copy.

By a letter which I have this moment received from Davies, I find that Praun Kishun Sing has frequently applied to Mr. Shore for the letters, but has been refused. I remain in anxious expectation of hearing from Shore himself.

Calcutta is the place where I most dreaded the arts of your few enemies. and this, therefore, I intended to make the last scene of my operations. I expected to return there by Xmass Day, and certainly should have done so but for my accident. My surgeon assures me that I shall still be able to leave this place by the middle of January. The addresses will before that time have come in from all the other quarters, and the remainder of the month will I presume be sufficient for perfecting that from Calcutta. Should I be confined to this place longer than the middle of January I shall delegate the commission at Calcutta to some other person; but to whom I know not: perhaps to Colonel Pearce. I would infinitely prefer Davies to every other person for his zeal, his attachment to you, and his abilities are infinite. But his very virtues have made him enemies, and Bristow is so rancorously one of them, that Shore can never act in concert with him.

For receiving the suffrage of *the Nabob* of *Arcot*, I proposed to Mr. Shore that we should employ Major Grattan. He approved and I accordingly wrote to Major Grattan the letter of which I now send you the draft. Mr. Shore approved it with a slight alteration which I accordingly made and which is noted in the margin.

I consulted Dick Johnson as to Nizam Ally Khan. He advised me to refer you to the Nizam's former letter, which he said was as full an acknowledgment of your merits, as esteem and friendship could dictate. When the other addresses are published you must add that letter.

I should have told you that though my letter to Grattan was sent so long since as the 9th of October, I have not yet received an answer to it.

It is my intention to bring all the addresses on the records at the same

time, and my earnest hope that this will be done before the dispatch of the last ship.

I have desired White to send to you the two large boxes of papers mentioned in my last letter; and Turner to send to you a box of Consultations received from the Council House since my departure from Calcutta. Zophany has sent me very lately the Kit Cat portraits of yourself, Sir Elijah Impey and the Shah Zadeh. I will pack them carefully and send them to you by one of the ships of this season. I have not received the small full-length picture of yourself and Mrs. Hastings. Your old buggy horse is still alive and well. He has no other symptom of old age than the loss of some of his teeth, and the wonderful length of others. In the fervent hope that this will find you honorably acquitted, and in the full enjoyment of fame, health and every requisite of happiness.

I have honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and obedient humble servant,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

I have been obliged to write with a pencil, as in my present position the ink will not flow upon the paper.

[*To be continued.*]

The Correspondence of Richard Edwards, 1669–79.

By Sir Richard Camac Temple, bt., c.b., c.i.e., f.s.a.

(*Letters I-C, reprinted from* Notes and Queries, *12 S. III-V, 1917-19.*)

PREFATORY NOTE.

WHILE editing the *Diaries of Streynsham Master* (1675-83) for the Indian Records Series, in 1911, I had occasion to draw largely upon the MS. records of the old John Company, preserved at the India Office. In the course of my researches, I was struck by the enormous number of private letters addressed to one of the Company's subordinate officials, Richard Edwards. He was a factor and merchant in Bengal, and appears to have been on friendly terms with all his contemporaries in the various commercial settlements, as well as with many of the Company's senior servants both in Bengal and Madras. He was a methodical man, and filed the letters he received, and also kept copies of some of his own replies. Had all his correspondence escaped the ravages of time, there would doubtless have been enough matter to fill several bulky volumes. As it is, in spite of many gaps, there yet remain some four hundred documents in a more or less readable condition. These are preserved in the series known as Original Correspondence (O.C.), whence I have transcribed them with the kind permission of the India Office authorities. I have given the spelling and, to modern eyes, eccentric use of capitals, just as they occur in the originals; but for the convenience of present-day readers I have written out abbreviations, have adhered to the current use of the letters i and j, u and v, etc., and have inserted punctuation marks when necessary for the sense. I have also inserted within square brackets suggested letters or words where the MS. is torn or defaced.

The value of this correspondence lies in the fact that it presents a vivid picture of the life led by Anglo-Indians in Bengal in the seventeenth century, and it is possible to obtain from the letters for a decade of that century an intimate knowledge of the members of

the little English communities, their rivalries and animosities, their mode of living, and their endeavours to shake the pagoda tree.

No other such series of letters exists, to my knowledge, and consequently all students of Anglo-Indian history owe a debt of gratitude to Streynsham Master, (Governor of Fort St. George 1678-81) for their preservation. Edwards's death occurred while the Governor was making a tour of inspection in Bengal, and he at once ordered all the deceased merchant's papers to be collected and placed under lock and key at Balasor, whence a portion of them eventually found their way to England.

The collection was known to the late Col. Sir Henry Yule, who printed a small number of the letters (chiefly relating to Thomas Pitt) in his *Diary of William Hedges*, Vols. II and III. With this exception the correspondence has, so far as I know, remained buried among the India Office Records until the present time.

RICHARD EDWARDS *c.* 1646-79.

Of the parentage and early life of Richard Edwards little has been discovered. He was the youngest son of Thomas Edwards, who died before 1664, leaving three sons and at least four daughters. The few details of the family that have come to light are found in the will of the eldest son, Thomas Edwards junior. From this we learn that in 1664 Richard Edwards was a minor, that 50*l.* had already been spent on his apprenticeship, and that the balance of 500*l.* bequeathed to him by his father was to come to him at the age of 21. In 1664 the testator is described as "of the Inner Temple, London," and in 1667, when he became security for his brother Richard, as "of Kingston, Surrey." The second son Joseph was apparently of age in 1664, as he was appointed one of the executors to his brother's will, and was to receive possession of certain lands devised him by his father in Flint and Denbigh. Joseph Edwards outlived Thomas, whose will was proved on April 18, 1672.

Three of the sisters of Richard Edwards married respectively Robert Holt, William Street, and Christopher Tomlinson. Abigail was unmarried at the date of her brother Thomas's will.

It would seem that Richard Edwards entered the East India Company's service on attaining his majority, and that he invested part of his patrimony in goods accounted suitable for the Indian market. His career while in the Company's service (1667-79) is briefly as follows.

On October 18, 1667, hd was elected a writer at a salary of 10*l.* per annum, his brother Thomas being one of his securities in 500*l.* In December

a passage was ordered for him in the *Blackamore* commanded by Capt. Price. In this vessel sailed John Smith and John Vickers, both also newly elected servants of the Company. Madras was reached on Sept. 8, 1668, and those writers destined for Bengal, among whom was Edwards, were almost immediately sent on to Balasor.

In 1668 the factories in Bengal were managed by a Council residing either at Balasor or Hūghlī, and subordinate to the agency at Fort St. George, Madras. The Company's ships anchored off the port of Balasor, whence their cargoes were conveyed up the Hūglī to the town of that name by "country ships," since few of the English commanders could be induced to face the perils of "the braces" and the unknown dangers of the river. Besides the two chief factories of Balasor and Hūglī, there were smaller factories at Kāsimbāzār, Patna, and Dacca, in each of which was a "Chief," a "Second," and sometimes a "Third," with one or two juniors as assistants

After spending a few months in Balasor, Edwards was transferred to Kāsimbāzār, the Company's silk depot. Here he and Thomas Jones, "young men and inexperienced in the country," were, for a time, the only officials in residence. Edward's conduct earned him the commendation of John March, his superior, and in consequence his salary was doubled by the Court of Committees.

Beyond the statement that he was acting as "Third" (or warehouse-keeper) at Kāsimbāzār, there is no further official notice of Edwards until October, 1674, when he became involved in a scandal with a native woman. Relations were already extremely strained between the English and the local governor on account of the death of Raghu, a native cash-keeper, whose end was said to have been accelerated by a punishment inflicted by Matthias Vincent, Chief of Kāsimbāzār factory. In consequence, the Council at Balasor were anxious, at all costs, to avoid further friction, and on receipt of the news of Edwards's backsliding they wrote as follows :—

"Wee are sorry to reade of the unhappy Accident that hath befalen Mr. Edwards, and Considering the ill Custome of late practised against Christian Strangers, we should have been glad that You had taken up that business for him, though it had been for Rs. 1000, fearing besides the future trouble wee may have, that wenever the business is terminated, wee shall be inforced to pay at least so much; we shall write about it to Dacca, but have hopes that Bulchund [Bal Chand Rāi] if he can will bring the business well of."

Apparently, the local authorities were placated by a substantial present of money, but Edwards was henceforth regarded with less favour by his superiors in office.

In October, 1676, when Streynsham Master made a tour of inspection

of the Company's factories in Bengal, he sent Edwards to Rājmahāl in charge of bullion to be coined at the Mughal mint, and instructed him to "make a step over to Maulda," twenty miles distant, and report upon the commodities obtainable there.

Accordingly, on Dec. 6, 1676, Edwards wrote to Kāsimbāzār giving "an Accompt of Maulda, the Scituation and Trade thereof." This account was drawn up in a concise and businesslike way, and the report was so satisfactory that it led to the establishment of a centre of trade at Mālda. It was probably to the commercial acumen then displayed that Edwards owed his promotion in the following year.

Previous to his visit to Mālda, he had served his time as writer and factor, and had "sealed new Indentures" as a merchant, one of his securities being his brother-in-law Christopher Tomlinson. He now received the munificent salary of 30*l.* per annum. In June, 1677, he was appointed "Second" (or accountant) at Balasor, but was detained for some time at Kāsimbāzār, awaiting the arrival of Edward Knipe to supply his place. In September an urgent summons came from Hūglī, the head factory, requiring Edwards to be sent immediately to take up his new post ("where the many deaths" from an epidemic then raging had "made him necessary"), and Edmund Bugden, whom he succeeded, was ordered to give him "all the light" he could regarding accounts at Balasor. This "light" must have been very imperfect, judging by Edwards's failure as a bookkeeper.

For some time Edwards continued to carry out his new duties more or less successfully, but in December, 1678, he incurred the anger of his superiors, and was sharply reprimanded by Matthias Vincent, then head of affairs in Bengal. John Smith (who had been dismissed the Company's service in disgrace), Edmund Bugden, and Edwards had all been concerned in a cargo of goods and the ship that carried it. Smith was anxious to escape from Bengal, and Edwards connived at the sale of the vessel without Bugden's concurrence. Smith effected his flight, and Bugden made his complaint against the proceeding. Edwards's credit suffered, and he was henceforth under a cloud. He became careless in the performance of his duties, and, in consequence, numerous letters were sent from Hūglī in February, 1679, and the succeeding months, reproving him for his "neglectfull way of Correspondence" and his failure to forward a monthly statement of accounts.

In August, Streynsham Master, who had succeeded to the post of Agent and Governor of Fort St. George, paid a second visit of inspection to "the Bay." He arrived at Balasor on the 20th, and immediately set to work to examine Edwards's books. These were found to be "behind hand in great disorder and confusion," and "such gross Errours to the prejudice of the

Honble. Company as we presume cannot be paraleld in any place." Excuses were of no avail, but, having reprimanded the culprit, the capable administrator proceeded to give directions "how to rectifie" the accounts, "that soe they being once put into a Method and order to be understood, you may keep up with them accordingly."

The instructions "for the ordering and methodizing the Companys business and the punishments to be imposed upon failure therein" were clear and minute, and the threat of the loss of a quarter's salary, with the probability of dismissal should he again offend, spurred Edwards to attempt to reform his ways But his strength was fast failing, and on Oct. 30 it was reported that he was "very ill." On Nov. 4 he signed the "Accompt cash" for October. This showed a balance of Rs. 8236.15.7, but his assistants wrote that

"Richard Edwards disownes to have any Cash in his hands, and they having demanded of him where it is or how disposed of, he returned this answear—that by reason of his indisposition, which renders him uncapable of examining his papers and Accompts, he could not at present give any Accompt thereof."

There was, moreover, a postscript "signed by Richard Edwards only," stating that,

"being at present very much indisposed," he "intreats the suspention of "Censure till upon the first returne of his health, when he shall not faile "to give a more satisfactory accompt."

There was no "returne of health" in store for Edwards. He died two days later, "about 11 a clock" on Nov. 6, 1679, and "his chamber dore and "all other places wherein he hath any concernes" were at once sealed up by Matthew Sheppard and John Byam, his subordinates.

On Nov. 17 the Governor, Streynsham Master, wrote to the Council at Hūglī:—

"I am sorry for the death of Mr. Richard Edwards, and by the letter thence of the 4th, signed by himselfe, fear the Honble. Companys cash will fall short, for it is not likely, as indisposed as he was, that above 8000 Rs. could be wanting and he or they that signed with him not know what become of it, espetially considering that when I was there, myselfe with Mr. Mohun examined the Accompt cash and the cash in the chest, and found the mony in the chest to be something more then there should be by the Ballance of the Accompt; and since that, there has been two months Accompts of cash duly sent thence, so that this I suppose can be noe new errour as is implyed in the letter of the 4th. But Mr. Byam and Mr. Sheppard have done very prudently to clear themselves by writeing that letter whilst Mr. Edwards lived."

On the 28th Master wrote again, directing that an inventory should be taken of Edwards's effects, but if there were not sufficient time to do this before the departure of the ships for England, then,

"before some sufficient wittnesses, to open all his chambers, clossets, chests, Boxes, and scretores [escritoires, desks], that they may see what there is, and then lock and seale them up againe with severall seales, and take a view of his papers, if from thence they can collect where he hath any thing to satisfy the many demands that we now heare are made upon his estate."

A month later, on Dec. 23, 1679, Master reached Balasor on his way back to Madras, and on the following day,

"the outcry or publike sale, was made of Mr. Edwards his goods, which lasted from morning to night, and there was much left unsold, he having more lumber then any man has been knowne to have of his quality or standing; and there was monys found scattered amongst his papers and other things here and there, a little in silver and gold of severall countrys, which made it evident that he was a careless and a vaine man.

The sale of his goods this day amounted unto ...	Rs.	2049.15.00
Silver mony and plate		1492.14.09
Gold coyne, Buttons, &ca.		964.13.00
	Rs.	4507.10.09

Besides four horses, four chests copper and many other things remaining to be sold, all which it is supposed will pay what he run out of the Companys cash."

The horses and "other things," including some "dear" (deer), were sent up to Hūglī and there sold, except his "unsound Arabian horse," which fetched Rs. 50 at Balasor. The "outcry" realized Rs. 3168.8 an., exclusive of one horse which was retained as a present for the Nawāb at Dacca.

On Jan. 5, 1681, the Court of Committees wrote to Fort St. George:—

"Wee take notice of Mr. Edwards death and the Vanity of his life, and desire your further care to see the Company fully righted out of what he left behind him."

But, since no further claims were made against the deceased, it is to be presumed that the sum produced by his effects covered his liabilities.

As to the fairness of Streynsham Master's strictures on Edwards, those who have the patience to wade through his correspondence will be best able to judge. If he accumulated "aboundance of lumber," he at the same time acquired a large circle of friends, and his kindly nature is evidenced throughout his intercourse with all whom he knew.

From the outset of his life in India he seems to have been hampered by debt. He expected golden and quick returns for his investments, and contracted loans which crippled his resources and evidently estranged him from his family. His love of fashionable clothes, his desire to live up to his position, his constant endeavours to find some profitable investment to eke out his scanty salary are apparent in his letters, but few will be found to disagree with Robert Freeman that his "well breeding and good disposition and Curtuous Cariage toward all men cannot but win All mens affections," whether of his own time or of the present day.

[Authorities.—*Court Minutes*, vols. 25a, 26; *Letter Books*, vols. 4, 6; *Factory Records*: Hugli, vols. 1, 4, 5, 7; Fort St. George, vols. 16, 28; Kasimbazar, vol. 1; Balasor, vol. 1; Miscellaneous, vol. 3a; O. C., Nos. 3255, 3264, 3368a, 3765, 4142, 4676, 4678; *P. C. C. Wills* (48 Eure); *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, *passim*.]

LETTER I.

Robert Elwes to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3254.)

[Robert Elwes was the second son of Sir Gervase Elwes, Kt., of Woodford, Essex (1581-1653). He was elected a factor in the East India Company's service at 30*l.* per annum in November, 1661, his brother "Sir Garvace Ellowes" being one of his securities. On his arrival in Bengal, Robert Elwes was employed at Hugli, where he remained until 1668. His preferment was delayed on account of "his being indebted," but on "recommendation received" the Court of Committees appointed him Second at Patna, and to succeed Job Charnock, then Chief of the factory. In January, 1673, Elwes was transferred to Dacca, *vice* John Smith, who was dismissed. He died there on Dec. 4, 1675, and his brother Jeremy was granted administration of his effects in London on Oct. 25, 1676.

For the connexion of Robert Elwes with Sir Gervase Elwes (or Helwys), executed in 1615, and with Amy who married Robert Meggott, known as "Miser Elwes," see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 1868, 68-9. For Robert Elwes see *Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv, 215, 221 and xxvi, 44; *P. C. C. Wills* (323 Brent), and *Admons.*, 1676; Cussans's *Hertfordshire*, pp. 110-11.]

Patna March 1668/9

SIR

As Unknowne I salve(1) you kindly; from Mr. March(2) I g[ot] A letter from my Uncle Gyffard(3) (Sent by one G: W:(4) now that Person who or

wher he is know not), and brought into the Bay by your selfe, and for your care therin doe returne you Sir many thankes, Assuring you Sir that you shall finde me very ready to shew you that Civility or courtesy that lyes in my Power either in Perfor[ma]nce or advice, but the truth is the distance being soe great(5) feare shall not yet have the opertunity; but Mr. March (who is a very Civill person, and well experienced in this country) know will not be wanting when you shall have occasion to make use of him &c.

And now Sir give me leave to bid you welcome into these Parts wishing Sir you may in a few yeares find a more prosperous Gayle then I have done in 7 yeares. I thought at first the very name of India sounded Hugely, but I doe a[s]sure you Sir (and hae found it soe by experience) That the g[ro]und I tred upon is but dirt still, and th[in]ke wher I am at present the worser sort too: but notwiths[tan]ding Sir, be you couragious, this world has varyous even[ts, on] some it frowns, o[n] other some it shines againe, and hope the latter may fall [to y]our share:—at this time I dare not inlarge least I should [offe]nde, as beinge as yet unacquinted, b[ut sh]all endeavour [to p]rove my selfe at all times,

Sir

Your [friend] and Servant to Command,

R[OBERT] ELWES

[Endorsed] for Mr. Edwards
Merchant,
Present in Ballasore.

LETTER II.

John Smith to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3255.)

[John Smith, elected factor on Oct. 18, 1667, probably sailed to India in the *Blackamore*, and thus became acquainted with Richard Edwards. The two corresponded frequently for the first five years after their arrival in India, and were closely concerned in private trade. In April, 1669, shortly after his arrival in Bengal, Smith accompanied John March to the Nawāb's Court at Dacca, and when March had accomplished his mission there, he left Smith in charge of the

(1) This use of "salve" as a verb, meaning "to greet," is uncommon. There is no example in the *O. E. D.*

(2) John March, at that time chief at Kāsimbāzār, will be noticed later.

(3) I have not succeeded in tracing the connexion between the Elwes and Gyffard families.

(4) G. W.=George White, who will be noticed later.

(5) The distance between Patna and Ballasor is roughly 300 miles.

Company's investments at Dacca factory. Four years later, in January, 1673, Smith was recalled to Hūglī on a charge of negligence, and abuse of the confidence reposed in him. He defied and wrangled with the authorities until November, 1676, when his case was examined by Streynsham Master, the Company's Agent and Supervisor. Smith was found guilty of fraud, and was dismissed the Company's service and ordered to proceed to Fort St. George. He evaded this command as long as possible, and then in December, 1678, escaped from Balasore in the *Good Hope*, with the intention of conducting a trading voyage to Kedah and the Malay Peninsula. He was, however, murdered at sea by the Captain of the vessel, George Johnson.

A full account of the case against Smith and an analysis of the evidence on both sides are to be found in the *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, i. 156, 164, 411-21, 422-47. A detailed narrative of Smith's career in India was printed in vol. xliii, pp. 267 ff. of *The Indian Antiquary* (*Some Anglo-Indian Worthies of the Seventeenth Century*, by L. M. Anstey)]

Hugly, March the 13th 166[8/9].

Loving freind

These may serve to acquaint y[ou] of our safe arivall here the 5th instant Imed[iately] have Endeavoured to sell your Sword blades(1) in [order] to which have treated with the Governor,(2) and hee [offered] 3 rupees per peece for them all to gether, but I am [not] willing to sell at that price. Knowing hee is to g[oe to] Dacka(3) within few day's and wants such a par[cell], doe hope shall bring him to ½ a rupee m[ore], but if not shall let them goe at the [price] before mentioned. Assure your selfe [I] doe for you as for my selfe, which is all to [da]y from

Sir

Your Loving freind

JOHN SM[ITH]

My Love and Service to all freinds.

[Endorsed]

To Mr Richard Edwards Merchant in Ballasore.

(1) The market for sword-blades from Europe was very uncertain. There are various references in the contemporary records to the kinds "vendible." Generally speaking, the broad, long blades were preferred.

(2) The native governor of Hūglī at this time was Muhammad Sharif, known to the English as "Mameet Xurife." He was succeeded by Malik Kāsim. Both governors were constantly opposing the English with a view to securing bribes.

(3) The seat of the Court of Shāistāh Khān, Nawāb of Bengal.

LETTER III.

John Smith to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3264.)

Hugly, April 15th 1669

Mr Richard Edwards

Esteemed Freind I have indeavor'd what I can to sell [your swo]rd Blades but h[ave not] yet sould ab[o]ve 2 of them, for which I am Indebted to you a hundred and od Rupies which if you have occasion for, may take it up of some one at Ballasore and I shall pay it to them or their order here. I understand by Mr. Jones(1) that you are to goe to Cassumbozar,(2) for hee writes mee to put you in mind of Rack(3) and Lime Water, without which hee is not able to mind the Companys businesse, therefore pray don't let him want them Long least the Company com to damage.

I am Sir
Your Loving freind
JOHN SMITH

[Endorsed] to Mr Richard Edwards,
Merchant in Ballasore.

[In Richard Edward's writing]

[Fr]om Mr Smith 15th Aprill 1669

LETTER IV.

John Smith to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3277.)

Hatchora Hattee,(4) 14th May /69

Mr Richard Edwards

The 12th in the morning wee arived here, at which time found that I had Left my Little Carpet at Cassimbuzar, which was your mans Rougrie it was, for when my servant was putting Up my things your man tooke away the Carpet. I have sent you a Polompoare(5) which pray accept of.

---

(1) Thomas Jones was elected a factor into the Company's service on Nov. 22, 1667 (*Court Minutes*, xxvi, 67). He appears to have sailed to India with Edwards, Smith, and Vickers. He was employed at Kāsimbāzār Factory from April, 1669, till April, 1670, when he was sent to Dacca. He disappears from the Records after 1671.

(2) Cassumbozar (more commonly Cassumbuzar, Cossimbuzar), the Anglo-Indian spelling of Kāsimbāzār, where the Company first established a factory in 1658.

(3) Rack, *i.e.* "arrack (*'arak*)," Oriental distilled spirits.

(4) Hajrahati, a few miles north of Mirdāudpur.

(5) Polompoare, palempore, properly *palangposh*. a quilt.

The Companys goods with Mr Marches and mine have received much damage, but your Sword Blades are soe well acquainted with the water that they are not the Worse for wetting.

Yours till you and I meet

JOHN SMITH

My Servis to Mr Powell(1) and love to Mr Jones.

J. S.

[Endorsed] to Mr Richard Edwards.

Merchant, Present in Cassumbuzar.

[In Richard Edward's writing] from Mr Smith 14 May 69.

LETTER V.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards

(O.C. 3297.)

[John Vickers, son of John Vickers of Fulham, Middlesex, and Margerie his wife, was elected a writer for the "Coast and Bay," *i.e.*, Madras and Bengal, on October 18, 1667, at salary of 5*l.* per annum for five years. He was, however, sent out as a factor, which office carried a salary of 20*l.* per annum. He was probably acquainted with Edwards before their voyage to India, and he sailed with him in the *Blackamore*, commanded by Capt. Price, in January, 1668. On his arrival at Fort St. George, Madras, Vickers was ordered to proceed to Bengal, where he was employed at Balasor. In 1672 he was sent to Dacca to collect evidence against John Smith, Chief of that factory, who was then under suspicion of cheating the Company. Vickers officiated there for a few months as "Second," then, "wanting his health," he obtained permission to return to England, and died on the homeward voyage. By his will, made on board ship and dated April 19, 1673, he bequeathed his property to his mother Margerie, his brother James (or Jacob), and his sister Mary. His "arrack, lyme water, and sugar" were left to the ship's company, and his wine and certain "sweetmeats" were to be given "to the Mess" at his "burial." Administration of his effects was granted to his brother Jacob on Sept. 19, 1673. His father had died in 1672.

In his letters to Richard Edwards, Vickers uses the expression "brother," but this term seems to have been merely one of friendship, as no relationship between the two men has been discovered. Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, ii, 287,

(1) Henry Powell, then chief at Kāsimbāzār, will be noticed later.

suggests that the use of the term may have implied Freemasonry. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi, p. 41 ; *O. C.* 3996 ; *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, i, 159, 160, 166, 442 ; *P. C. C. Wills* (117 Pye) ; Admons, (1672)]

Ballasore June the 15th 1669.

Dear Friend

My last to you was the 23rd past month which I hope you received; yours of the 27th ditto is come to my hand with A peece of silk and Coojah, (1) for which I returne you many thank[s]. It would make me desist from writing considering the many obligations that lie upon me, which I am noe way able at present to requite in the least, but that I fear my sil[en]ce might render me the more ungratefull. If itt lay but in my power to Comply with the desi[re] of your last letter itt would not trouble me soe muc[h], but since it doth not, I must desire you to judg Charritably that I would have done itt before now, if I had been possest with moneys ; but when things doe happen better I shall Endeavor to requite former Kindnesses, though never can doe itt to the full.

The 29 D°. Mr Bagnall (2) departed for Hugly upp[on] the Pinnace *Madras*, (3) suppose he may bee at his voy[age] end before this; wee expect letters dayly from him.

I am sorry to hear you are soe much troubled with the toothach. I have enclosed sent Mr Vincent's (4) receipt, which hope may give you ease, i being praised by him for an excellent remedy.

The 6th present in the evening I was taken Extraordinary ill with A fever and A very great paine all over my bones, and the 7 A great looseness, but I praise God they have all [le]ft me though somewhat weake. My humble service to Mr Powell, my love and service to Mr. Jones, not else

I remaine

Your real Loving Freind

JOHN VICKERS.

P.S. The Dr, (5), Mr Bullivant (6) &cta desire to be remembred to you isdem.—J. V.

(1) Coojah, Hind. pronunciation of Pers. *kūza*, an earthenware water vessel.

(2) William Bagnall, or Bagnold, will be noticed later.

(3) One of the Company's small vessels which plied on the Hugli River between Hugli and Balasor.

(4) Matthias Vincent, then "Second" at Hugli, will be noticed later.

(5) By "the Dr." Ralph Harwar, who arrived in India in 1669, appears to be meant. He will be noticed later.

(6) Samuel Bullivant, another of Edwards's friends and contemporaries, will be noticed later.

Ballasore Le 19th June 1669

[De]ar Freind

Since the above written I received yours of the 4 Instant, and am sorry that I should give you occasion to accuse me of forgetfullness of my friend, through my negligence in not takin[g] opertunityes of writing to you, in which I have not [to] my knowledge been wanting, except once, for if I mistake not, this is the 3rd Cossitt (1) that hath come to Cossumbaz[ar] and I never omitted but once, and that was Mr Bridges (2) his private Cossett, which I did not know of till 2 houres after he was gon, but I wonder very much that mine of the 23rd of may should miscarry, but I shall enquire of Mr Vincent whether he put itt into the pacquett, for I delivered itt to him. The slippers you were pleased to send me I received, and retu[rne] you many thanks for them as allsoe fo[r] your former token; you may very justly accuse me of ungratefullness to A brother and friend that hav[e] not (after the receiving of soe many Kindnesses and token[s]) Complyed with your desires, but as you are my friend, doe not Impute itt to any thing but the want of money, which if itt had not been I had sent you the sanoes(3) long since, if I could not have gotton A boy(4) soe soone. I shall use my utmost Endeavour to procure Mr Bullivants Common prayer booke, but I dare not Speak to him soe suddainly after the receit o[f] your letter least he should mistrust itt is for [torn away] here is noe newes stirring at present, not els[e] my humble service to Mr Powell

I remaine
Your real Loveing friend
JOHN VICKERS

Mr Bullivant &cta present their service to you and Mr Jones.—J. V.

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cossumbazar Received the 28th June

LETTER VI.

John March to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3306.)

[John March was admitted into the Company's service as factor on Nov. 4, 1661. He seems to have proceeded direct to Bengal, where he

(1) Cossitt, Ar. *kasid*, a foot-messenger.

(2) Shom Bridges was head of the Company's factories in Bengal from 1668 to 1671, when he returned to England.

(3) Sanoes, Hind. *sanu*, cotton cloth, woven in Bengal.

(4) "Boy"—This widely used term for a non-European body servant is an instance of folk etymology, arising out of the name of the caste in Southern India (Telugu *boyi*, Tamil *bovi*) employed by the Europeans who first went there, originally as palanquin bearers and then as household servants.

was employed at Patna under Job Charnock until 1665. In June of that year, "through some distastedness in minde, he left the Factory, and tooke most he had with him and went for Dacca." In 1667, and again in 1669, March represented the Company at the Nawāb's Court at Dacca. Trouble had arisen between the Bengal Council and Malik Kāsim, Governor of Hugli. This official took advantage of the alleged tampering with some boxes (shipped by the English for, and consigned to, the Nawāb of Bengal by William Blake) to impose numerous exactions upon the English and to obstruct their trade in every possible way. John March, with John Smith as his assistant in 1669, was deputed to appeal at the *darbár* (Court) of Shāistah Khān against these exactions, and also to settle other matters of dispute with the native authorities.

In their letter to the Company of January 23, 1669, the Council at Fort St. George recommended March as "a very ingenious and knowing person in your business and hath the Commendation of all men.....and had been worthy to have bin incouraged with others.. .....had he had a Friend at Court to put you in remembrance of him." In consequence of their opinion of his abilities, the Council appointed March, in September 1669, to succeed Henry Powell as Chief at Kāsimbāzār Factory. On receipt of these orders from Madras, the Council at Balasor wrote to the Governor and Council at Fort St. George as follows: "Wee have noe small hopes and opinion of Mr. John March, whom you have ordered to succeed [at Kāsimbāzār], therefore is by us recalled from Decca, that his experience and abillities (which his maligners cannot, though they envy, deny he exceeds them in, more then their security in bonds surpass his) will manage and improve the manufacture of Cassumbazar, if the want of stock does not defeate his industry, to answer our Masters expectations both for quantitys and quallities in the returnes of such goods they may desire and are procurable thereabouts." John March died at Kāsimbāzār in 1671 and was buried at Balasor. He left money to build a tomb over his body as a landmark for "the Barr," but his wishes were not carried out. Administration of his effects was granted to his mother Elizabeth Warren on July 3, 1672. I have failed to find any trace of John March's father, who appears to have died before 1661, when Richard Warren (possibly his stepfather) was one of the young factor's securities. In 1669, when further security was required for John March as Chief at Kāsimbāzār, John Polixfen, Martin Cowell, and William Warren became sureties in 1,000*l*. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv, pp. 211, 215, and vol. xxvi, pp. 286, 292; *O. C.*, 3060, 3069, 3247, 3344; *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, ii, 237; *P. C. C. Administrations.*]

Decca Le 12th July 1669

MR RICHARD EDWARDS

And much Respected Friend

Your Courteous Lines of the 14th past month came to my receipt the 3d Present, and heartily wish I were upon my returne to Cassumbuzar as you thought me, but business goes on soe slowly in this cursed Durbar, (1) that I fear twill be the latter end of this month (if not the begining of the next) before I shall be able to leave this place.

The Cossaes (2) you desired I shall indevour to procure tho' they are very deare here at Present, and for slave boyes feer none [to b]e gotten for mony, I have not one in [th torn away] but have sent about the Country to look for slaves [torn away] Severall other friends, but rice being pretty reasonable [torn away] poore people will not sell their children till necessity forceth them to it. I'm sorry I cannot give you no better accompt of your sword Blades, having sold but 3: of them since my arrivall; if they had bin engraven they would have all gon of, but as they are, none cares to look on them; be assured Sir I shall use my utmost indevour for there disposall, but if I cannot sell them before I leave this place, then I shall leave them with Mr. Smith. I thank you for the care my moveables; if there be any thing wherein I can bee serviceable to you pray freely Commaund.

Sir

Your Reall and Faithfull friend to serve you

JNO. MARCH

Mr Smith presents his kind Respects to you and Mr Jones. Idem J. M. Pray when you write to Mr Vickers present my respects to him

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant

Present in Cassumbuzar

LETTER VII.

John Smith to Richard Edwards

(O. C. 3307.)

Decca the 13th July 1669

MR RICHARD EDWARDS.

Kind Sir

Yesterday writ you a Letter though of Small Concernment Onely to Lett you know that I scorne to Lett a Cossett (3) passe from hence without

(1) See above for the object of John March's mission to Dacca.

(2) Cossaes, Indian pronunciation of Ar *khassa*, fine muslin, for Dacca was noted.

(3) See Letter V.

acquainting you that I am a Live and glad when [I] Receive a Line from you, but at night received an other from you, for which (if you are reall in what you write) give you many thanks and wish I may bee able to grattify t[ha]t [torn away] to have for mee and the answer Mr B[r]y[d]g[es] hi[s expec]tation which shall allwaise bee my desire and End[eavour].

I am sorry to here that Mr Brodnax(1) hat[h put] himselfe under a suspition of Treichery a[nd] wish it had been otherwise; as to Mr Blake(2) ([let] him work what Plotts he will) doe believe the bu[r]d[en] will fall soe heavy upon him that I would be loath to Lend him my shoulders, and it is to be fear'd the Company will bee sufferrers by his unworthy dealing[s] and doe believe Mr March and not excl[udi]ng my selfe must [?both] share [?in] the [?troubles], [wi]sh they were at an end, the businesse might goe on Cherefully; the Cosset is now in hast, therefore shall Conclu'd with the Subscribtion of

Sir

Your Obleidged friend to serve you

JOHN SMITH

Pray present my humble Servis to Mr Powell J. S.

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant Present In Cossumbuzar.

LETTER VIII.

John Vickers ta Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3331.)

Ba[llasore] the 31st August 1669

[Dear] Friend

Yo[urs of] the 26th past month and 27 ru:(3) and 6th present I have received and shou[ld] have answered them Per the last Cossitt but was very

(1) Roger Brodnax (or Broadnax), who was sent to India in 1665 as "Chiefe of 30 Soldiers," was made a factor in 1667. He went from Madras to Bengal, with his wife, in 1669, and was constantly at variance with the authorities there for many months. He sided with William Blake, the Company's Agent in Bengal, against Shem Bridges, the second in office, and he indulged in violent invective against other members of the Bengal Council. His wife Ann was equally quarrelsome. In February 1670, she burst into the "lodgings" of Shem Bridges, "cursed" him before the native merchants and ended by breaking, a "Brachman's [Brāhman's] head"! Rodger Broadnax died in India in or about the year 1674.

(2) William Blake was head of the Company's affairs in Bengal from 1663 to 1669. He was accused of tampering with some goods consigned to the Nawāb, but managed to escape from Bengal before an inquiry could be held into this business as well as into other malpractices with which he was charged. On his return to England an action was brought against him by the Company.

(3) These two letters are quite plain, but I can suggest no meaning for them. The sense seems to require "do. (ditto)"

ill of A fever and Ague which I praise God hath now left me. I have to the utmost of my power Indevored to procure those things you writt for, but cannot out of the shipps gett any of them; for the hat[t] I think I have m[et]t with [a good o]ne that Mr [?] brought out for his owne waring that cost 1li: 18s: in England, but he will not take under 20s: for itt; the length of A string that comes about itt I have enclosed sent you; for the paper I have gott a Rheam of Mr Broadnax, two quire of which I now send you, and shall the First opertunity send you the Rest. Mr Jones writt to me for some, who I suppose will take 5 or 6 quire of itt; if it be to much, Mr Broadnax saith he will take itt againe when he comes to Cassumbazar for he w[ou]ld not break A Rheam, and there is none elce to bee gott. For the Penknives and quills there is none to be bought. I have in the paper sent a penknife which pray accept of. For the ribon, there is none come, neither scarlett nor any other colour (I think there was never such a crew of sad rogues gott together as there is in these shipps, for they have brought little or nothing with them). I question not butt the hatt may please you very well for itt is very fasshionable and a bever, and if any thing to bigg in the head itt may easily be [? drawn up] with a strai[t] band. I think the best Conveighance will be to putt in a box with the paper and what else you may want, and send itt to Hugly to be sent by the first opertunity with the Companies goods. Pray lett me hear per the first whether the string fitt you or noe. We hear nothing of the *Morning Starre*(1) yett; if shee arrives shall take care of your letters. Itt is re[port]ed by a Portugeese that Mr Niclaes is dead(2) att [Met]chlepat[a]m,(3) h[ow tru]e tis I know not.

[comm]on prayer book[e ther]e is none to [be had]. I returne you many thanks f[or you]r kindness i[n] offering to supply me with Mone[y]; be assured [if I] have occasion I shall send to you ha[v]ing no other f[riend] in these parts. Here is great Inquiry for those st[rings] that tie brooches, made with you, the longer and bigger the bet[ter]; if you can gett

(1) The *Morning Starr*, commanded by Capt. John Godolphin, had received her dispatches for Fort St. George in November, 1668, and was therefore considerably overdue at Madras. She had, however, "unhappily met with severall Disasters." When some distance off Land's End she was overtaken by a "violent storme" and had to return to Plymouth to refit. She set sail once more, and again "spent her Maine Mast." This time she was "forced to goe into Cadiz" for repairs. After a fortnight, she resumed her voyage, only to be set upon by a "Turke man of warr" and plundered of her treasure. In consequence, she returned to Falmouth in March, 1669, and her proposed voyage appears to have been subsequently abandoned. See *Letter Book*, vol. iv, pp. 194, 243-50, 256.

(2) John Niclaes, who had held the post of "Second" at Masulipatam since 1664, had incurred the Court's displeasure, and orders for his discharge were sent out in December, 1669. He had, however, died at Masulipatam in the previous July.

(3) Metchlepatam is the seventeenth-century spelling of Masulipatam, the Company's first settlement on the Coromandel coast. At this period the factory of Masulipatam was subordinate to that of Fort St.George.

any, they may turn to a good A[ccount]. If y[ou] h[a]ve not disposed of the breed(1) be please[d] to sell [it] for anything rather then lett itt [lie] unsold. Mr Billinsly(2) hath bin sick of A fever [a] month or 6 weeks, but is now recovered pretty well. When you send to Mr March present my humble service to him, remembring not more at pres[ent]

Remaine

Your Reall Loving Fri[end]

JOHN VICKERS

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant in Cassumbazar

[In Richard Edwards's writing] receed. the 16th September

LETTER IX.

Richard Edwards to John Smith (rough draft.)

(O.C. 3339.)

Cassambazar Sept. 6th 1669

Mr John Smyth

Sir, Yours of the 17th past month received the 26 ditto, together with 2000 rupees, 1000 rs. whereof being by you Ordered for Jerrome Maleek,(3) accordingly dispeeded to him the 1st Instant, and is by this time (I hope) arrived with him; the other 1000 rupees you sende to be Invested by me, I have given you Creditt for, but I am Sorry Should arrive So late, as not possible to be Invested this year, and the more, because you entended them as a test of my truth, and by my care and Successe therein to prove the reallity of my protestations; and indeed you could not have laid a more pressing Obligation upon me, but I must begg you not to hold me to Such hard termes, Seing (the time is So far gone) I cannot Invest any thing for my Selfe, who having a Small Summe, and (I Presume) a more pressing Necessity, might with more ease effect it were it possible to be done, but If you can propose any way (within the reach of my ability) that may tend to the Improvement of what of yours In my hand, I assure you my diligence and care Shall not be wanting to Shew that it is not my fault (though Indeed I account it my misfortune) that I cannot now comply with your desires, then which, nothing is more desired by

Sir

Your reall friend and ready Servant

R. E.

[No endorsement.]

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(1) Braid. "Breed" occurs in the *O. E. D.* as a dialect spelling, *s.v.* 'Braid.'

(2) John Billingsley, who entered the Company's service at the same time as Richard Edwards, will be noticed later.

(3) Jairām Malik, a merchant at Hugli and the Company's "house broker."

LETTER X.

Richard Edwards to John March (rough draft.)

(O.C. 3339A.)

Cassumbuzar: 7 ber 6: 1669

Mr. John March

Respected Sir

Yours of the 17th past month received the 26 ditto, together with the 400 rs. yours exprest, Sent upon the Budgera,(1) and may, Sure, returne you thanks, and acknowledgment of So great kindnesse, without Suspition of a Complement which I doe not know my selfe ever to have been guilty of · but I am Sure should of Ingratitude, could I be Sencelesse of your Favours.

You advise your having sent 20 Seer(2) strait blades(3) to [Hajra]hatte and your purpose to Send the rest if they Sell, wherein (Sir) you need not question my ready assent, and willingnesse to run any risque you shall propose in order to the disposing what Swordblades are left, and shall Scruple no hazard, unlesse of losing your favour by Imposing So great trouble on you.

[NO SIGNATURE]

LETTER XI.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough draft.)

(O.C. 3368.)

Cassumbuzar 16th November [1669]

To Mr. Vickers

My last to you was of the 30 past and 2th Current, Since which, *viz*t. on the 6th present received yours of the 30 past month and am Sorry to hear of the Stopping of the Sannoes,(4) &ca., not for my disappointment who can make Shift to stay,(5) but least I have been the occasion of doing you displeasure, it being possibly not ordinary to Send Such bundles Per Cossids for fear of Impeding them on the way.

Your lace as yet remaines undisposed of, but hope now businesse is Somewhat over Shall find Some way for its Sale, in which Mr March promised his assistance, but hath Since [been] So busy a writing that I have not had opportunity to Speake with him, and Mr. Powell left this place So Suddenly after Mr Marche's arrivall that it frustrated his Intentions of disposing of it, So as to send you its produce then.

(1) Budgera, more commonly budgerow (*bajra*), a keelless barge, used on the Gangetic rivers.

(2) Seer (*ser*), an Indian weight, varying in different districts, roughly about 2lb. avoirdupois

(3) Straight, as opposed to curved sword-blades, or scimitars.

(4) See Letter V.

(5) Stay, *i.e.*, wait.

My Silke Stockings are I hope arrived with you and wish they may finde Sale; as for their produce, my last advised, *viat.* what you may have occasion for your Selfe, reserve and Give me Creditt for; the rest Invest in what you thinke convenient and remitt Per first opportunity.

I have Per this conveyance Sent Some of my letters to Mr Powell, the rest not yet ready, Shall Send Per next Conveyance to you* and desire you would deliver them to Mr Powell if in Ballasore, but in case one Ship Should be dispatcht [and] he Should be on it, pray Send them Per your friend,*(1) which businesse ended, we Shall I hope have a little more leisure and then Shall not fayle to write in answer to your's more fully. Mr M[arch] desires kindly to be remembered to you and pray remember me as kindly to Mr White, and So I rest.

[NO SIGNATURE.]

[In the margin] to Send the Sannoes, &c. Per this opportunity.

LETTER XII.

Richard Edwards to Henry Powell (rough draft.)

(O.C. 3368A.)

[Henry Powell had been in the Company's service for several years before he came in contact with Richard Edwards. The date of his election has not been ascertained, but it must have been some time before February, 1662, when the Court of Committees ordered his dismissal. In October, 1664, he was readmitted on account of his "good conduct in the Bay of Bengal." He was head of Kāsimbāzār factory in 1669, where, on his request to be allowed to return to England, he was replaced by John March. He sailed early in 1670, and in September of that year news reached Hūgli that his wife had "deceased of melancholy" at his non-return. On Powell's arrival in England he was admitted to the freedom of the Company, and appears to have settled down in London as a haberdasher. He married a second time Sarah, daughter of William Daniel. In 1676, when Richard Edwards had to find additional security on attaining the rank of merchant, he nominated "Henry Powell of London, merchant." Five years later Powell died, leaving one son, John (a minor), and two married daughters, Sarah Mitford and Mary Lethieullier. His second wife, who survived him, was executrix to her husband's will, which was proved

(1) The passage between the two asterisks is marked by Edwards as if he intended to transpose or omit it.

on Jan. 20, 1681/2. See *Factory Records*, Hugli, vol. i.; *Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv. pp. 296 and 439, and vol. xxvii. p. 33; *Diaries of Streynsham Master* vol. i. pp. 143, 339, 393, 402; *P.C.C. Wills* (8 Cottle).]

Cassumbuzar November 16: 69

To Mr Powell

Presuming on the Promise you were pleased to favour me with, of your delivery, have herewith Sent you Some letters for my friends which being of Some concerne have lay'd hold on the first opportunity to convey to you and must begg the like favour for Some more, which not being in a readynesse now, Shall dispeed Per next Cossid and hope may timely enough arrive your hands. Sir I doubt not but you will please to adde their Safe delivery to the many favours you have vouchsafed

Sir

Your most obliged and humble Servant
R. E.

[This and the preceding letter are endorsed together] To Mr Powell and Mr Vickers of 16th November.

LETTER XIII.

Richard Edwards to John Smith

(O. C. 3370.)

Cassumbuzar November the 24th: 69

To Mr Smith

Yours of the 1st Instant received the 13th, and according to your orders proffered the 1000 Rs. of yours in my hands to Mr March, who will receive it when he Shall meete with an opportunity to Invest it; in the interim it remaines in my custody; what I am in disburse (1) for you is only for the lineing, quilting and making up of your gownes, and amounts to 6 Rs., which Mr March repaies, having furnished me with your taffaties (2) for the outsides.

Mr March hath Sent effects to Jerrom Maleeke (3) to make up the account, of which as Soone as he Shall receive advice of, I shall deliver up his note and receive yours which Shall remitt you by Prime (4) conveighance.

I am Sorry to hear the Mogull (5) who made a bargain with Mr March (of which he acquainted me) Should Stand of, I[f] you thinke any Small

(1) What I am in disburse, *i.e.*, what I have spent.

(2) Silk goods, woven at Kāsimbāzār.

(3) See Letter IX.

(4) Prime, *i.e.*, the first, or earliest.

(5) Mughal (Muhammadan) merchant.

abatement may worke him pray make it, but I leave their disposall wholly to your Selfe, in confidence you will omitt no meanes for the effecting it that tendes to my advantage; wee have no news but bad, and that I care not to be the relater of, (1) especially when you will receive it so fully in the Copy of Ballasore Generall, (2) neither have I any more to adde

Save I am
Your R. E.

[Endorsed] To Mr Smith 24th November

LETTER XIV.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3402.)

Ballasore the 20th January 1669 [1670]

Dear Freind

Yours of the 20th December and 5th January I Received the 29th and and 13th do. and should not have been soe long silent had any opertunity of conveighance presented. Mine of the 16th December advised you that I had sent the paper Per Mr Bullivant, which I hope by this time is come safe to your hands.

The silk stockings, according to your orders, I have delivered to Mr White, who is resolved to Dispose of them one way or other before his returne, and hath promised to procure two pallumpose (3) about the price you mention. I have taken his receipt for the stockings, which if you please I will send you, but I think it may be as well here in case he should Miscarry; having the Receipt I may Demand the money, but that I leave to your Discretion. I indevoured to dispose of them here, but they offer 5 and 6 rupees A Pr. soe sold none of them.

I have paid the Doctor (4) 9 Ru: 6 an: on your account and will before I come from Ballasore procure the sanoes and send Per the first Conveighance.

Despairing of ever procuring Mr Bullivants Common p[r]ayer book, having proffered him soe largely for it, I have Per this Conveighance (made

(1) The "bad" news was probably the flight of William Blake and the strained relations with the Governor of Hugli consequent upon his injudicious actions. Edwards may also be alluding to the violent and frequent altercations among the Council in Bengal, owing to the insubordination of Roger Broadnax and Joseph Hall, both of whom refused to take up the posts assigned to them.

(2) By "Generall" General Letter is intended.

(3) Pallumposh, *palangposh*, bed-cover. See Letter IV.

(4) Ralph Harwar. See Letter V.

up in waxcloth) sent 1 Common prayer book and 1 Ps. leimon Colour Ribon, which pray accept of in part requitall of the Ps. of silk and severall other tokens Received from you, which does not lie in my power to retaliate at present but must Remaine Debtor till it shall please God to order things better.

In your letters you use the word trouble very much, which indeed is A very great trouble to me to read, and bee assured Dear Brother (1) that if it lies in my power to serve you in any thing it is rather A pleasure than A trouble to him that affectionately is and ever will be

Your Real Loving Friend
JOHN VICKERS

P. S. Pray present my humble service to Mr March and returne him many thanks for his kind proffer. Per the next oportunity shall write to him, having much writing at present and no helpe, likewise Remember me kindly to Mr Smith.

Idem J : V:

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassumbazar.

LETTER XV.

John Smith to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3411.)

Decca, March 9th 69/70

Mr Richard Edwards

Loving Freind My last to you was 26th, to which Refer you. I have now sent you by this boat 2 ps. Tanjeebs, (2) which cost 23 rs. I look upon them to bee a penny worth. (3) as this market goes, and could not well buy one with the other, for which Reason, I went Contrary to your order. I shall as soone as possible get Redy your Jelolsies (4) and send you. I rest (with my Respects to your self and Mr Jones)

Your Reall freind to Serve you
JOHN SMITH

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassumbuzar.

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(1) The two families were probably intimate, since the Vickerses lived at Fulham and some of the Edwardses at Kingston. Subsequent letters show that they had, at least, friends in common.

(2) Tanjeebs, Indian pronunciation of Pers. *tanzib*, fine muslin.

(3) A penny worth, *i.e.*, a bargain. See the quotations in the *O. E. D.*

(4) Jelolsies appear to have been fine flowered muslin. The term may possibly be derived

Letter XVI.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3412.)

Hugly the 11th March 1669/70

Dear Freind

Yours of the Primo Current I Received the 7th do. having bin in Hugly 9 dayes Mr. Bridges Arriving here the 5th present.

In your last you make mention of A Parcell of silks and Girdle Coming downe for Mr March's and your Account, which when Arrived shall dispose of as fast as possible, and advise whether A greater quantity will vend, which at present I cannot doe having noe sample to shew them, but fear shall gett little Copper, pepper or tin, the Directore(1) having ingroced it all in other mens names and holds it up at great rates, and but little come this year as I hear; however, Per the first opertunity pray fail not to advise what prices they bare at Cassumbazar [that] if I should meet with any I may know how to give.

I have brought A P . sannoes from Ballasore which shall send up Per Mr Haselwood,(2) who I suppose will set out next Week. I should have writt more at large, as likewise to Mr March (to whom pray Present my humble service) but did not know of the Cossetts going till he was dispatcht, soe must Conclude at present and remaine.

Your Reall Loving Freind

Jno. Vickers

excuse bad writing in hast.(3)

[Endorsed] To Mr. Richard Edwards,

Merchant in Cassumbazar.

Letter XVII.

Robert Freeman to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3413.)

[Robert Freeman entered the Company's service as a writer in November 1667, and sailed to India at the same time as Richard Edwards.

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from *jál*, netting, or more probably, from Jalālshāhi, *i.e.*, Jalāl Shāh's goods, after some native merchant of that name in those days who specialized in that kind of goods, just as we speak of "Liberty" silks in the present day.

(1) Directore was the title given to the heads of factories controlled by the Dutch East India Company. The individual referred to may be Matthias van den Brouke, who was head of the Dutch affairs in Bengal in 1662. In 1672 Francois de Hase succeeded to that post.

(2) Thomas Haselwood, one of Edward's correspondents, will be noticed later on.

(3) The writing is, however, clearer and much easier to read than when the writer is not "in hast."

On his arrival, he was employed at the factory at Musulipatam, where, in 1675, he held the office of steward. In July of that year he resigned the service, "his time as a writer being expired," because he considered he was defrauded of preferment. He remained in India as a "free merchant" until 1681, when he petitioned for re-employment under the Company. He was then appointed Third of Council at Masulipatam, and in the following year was sent to Cuddalore factory as Chief. Thence (in September 1682) he was again transferred to Masulipatam. In 1687, at his own request, he went to Fort St. George, Madras, and took his place as Fifth of Council. He died there on February 7, 1688-89, "of a dropsy, after a long and painfull illness," and was buried in the old cemetery where the Law Courts now stand. In 1763 his tombstone was placed in the Compound of St. Mary's Church, where a fragment of it still exists. Robert Freeman's wife, a daughter of Robert Fleetwood, Chief of Madapollam, whom he had married in July 1673, appears to have predeceased him, as she is not mentioned in his will. Neither does there appear to have been any issue of the marriage. The will provided for bequests to Freeman's mother-in-law Margery, then the wife of John Heathfield, surgeon, and to his three sisters-in-law, who were all widows. Probate was granted the executor, John Freeman, brother of the deceased, probably identical with the "John Freeman of London, merchant," who was one of Robert's securities in 1667. See *Court Minutes*, Vol. xxva, p. 45, and Vol. xxvi, pp. 62, 67, 68; *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ii, 107n., 129n., J. J. Cotton, *Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras*, No. 18; Rev. Frank Penny, *The Church in Madras*, Vol. i, pp. 135, 138, 318 (ed. 1904); *P. C. C. Wills* (39 Ent).

[Masulipatam, 16th March 1670]

Mr. Richard Edwards

Sir, I received yours of the 30th June, the Ultimo of August; had it come two Months sooner, then could have sent you those things you desired, but the Shipps being gon before your letter came to hand have not had an opertunity since of sending: Such a goune as you desire is not to be had unless it be bespoken, which is 3 Months time a painting.(1) I have writt to Mr Hopkings(2) who hath promised me to furnish me with a very good one

(1) Masulipatam was noted for printed cotton goods known as "paintings" or "pintados."

(2) A Thomas Hopkins was in Bengal in 1659, but the individual referred to appears to be John Hopkins, who had served his "covenanted time" in 1669, and was therefore probably elect-

against the Shipps arrive He is now Second of Pettipolee(1) where all such things as gounes and Chinses are painted, and allsoe the pillow Cases (because they shall be very good) are bespoken in the same place; the Lungees(2) allsoe shall be as good as mony can buy, and by the next Shipping that comes out this year You may Expect them; for if god spare me life, you Shall not faile of them. I writt to you last year by Mr George White, but have received never an answere from you as yett whether you would procure what I writt for, for me or not. Pray, if possible, procure me a boy,(3) if not, a good piece of Silke Striped with Silver, from 20 to 40 rupees price; if not to be had Stripped with Silver, then plaine; but if a boy can be had (let him cost what he will) in all the Country, lett me have him; haveing noe neiws to write worth your notice, only Mr. Blake is gon for England and Mr. Broadnax ordered third for this place, who is now comeing to the Bay to fetch his wife, and the Agent hath sent a strickt order to your Chiefe in the Bay(4) to settle all the Bay Factoryes, and hath ordered Mr Vincent Second of Cassumbazar and Mr Marshall third,(5) whome I believe you will find a Person proud and Surly enough, but you being one of that well breeding and good disposition and Curtuous Cariage toward all men that you cannot but win All mens affections towards you. Haveing nothing more to add, but wishing you all health, happiness and prosperity, desireing if possible to satisfie my desires in obtaining of a boy for me, and if you have Occasion for any other things more then you have hitherto writt for, you may be pleased to let me hear from you in time before the Shipps arrivall and you may assure your self it shall be sent you. Wee expect a pattamar(6) from the Bay in a very short time to bring answeres of what letters the Agent(7) and Councill sends now; therefore pray let me not faile of haveing one line or two from you;

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ed in 1664. On Oct. 29, 1669 the Court of Committees, finding him recommended as a "carefull and diligent" person, increased his salary to *20l.* per annum (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi, p. 286). Before the receipt of the Court's letter, "John Hopkins, who hath long served the Company faithfully," had been appointed (on June 30, 1669) as "Second" at Peddapalle, under Ambrose Salisbury.

(1) Peddapalle, or Nigāmpatam, called by the Company's servants Pettipolee, had been known to the English as a trading port since 1612, and in 1621 a factory was established there. This factory was dissolved in 1653 and resettled in 1658 with Jonathan Trevisa as Chief.

(2) Lungees' *lunggi*, loin-cloth.

(3) The writer is evidently asking for a "boy" to be bought for him as a slave, to be employed as a body servant. See Letter VI.

(4) Shem Bridges, who had succeeded William Blake.

(5) John Marshall, who had been at Patna since his arrival in Bengal, will be noticed later

(6) Pattamar, *pathmar*, foot-runner, messenger.

(7) The Agent at Fort St. George was Sir William Langhorne (1670-78), who had succeeded George Foxcroft.

in expectation of which I remaine (with my Reall love and Service presented to your self and my friends)

Your Reall freind and Servant at Command.

ROBT. FREEMAN

Metchlepatam 16th March 1669/70.

[Endorsed] To Mr. Richard Edwards
Merchant at Cassumbuzar
In Bay of Bengalla.

LETTER XVIII.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3414.)

Hugly le 28th March 1669/70(1)

Dear Friend

Yours of the 16th Current Received the 20th Ditto (Per the Dingee(2) you mention) and one bale agreeing with Inclosed Note, *viz*t. 41 Corge(3) of Girdles and 50 Peeces short Taffatyes, ¾ds being for Mr Marche's and your Account, he Disbursing ⅛ for me to be paid After sale of the Goodes, Which I could hartily Wish might be suddenly, but am something doubtfull of itt, Severall of the Dutch shipps being Dispatcht and [the] Rest ready to sale as I am Informed, but lett whatt will [happen], I question not but to Dispose of them to our Europe shipps ti[me] enough for another Investment before their Departure.

The prices you Informe of lead, tyn and pepper are less then they are here, pepper being at 19¼ Ru. and 20 Per maund, (4) the Companies lead at 10 ru. and No tin to be brought.

I have delivered to Mr Haselwood the Ps. of Sanoes I mentioned in my last sealed up with My seal in A Cloth, cost 9 ru. which I hope will not prove Deare. I have likewise delivered him A Ps. of Metchlepatam longees (5) which pray Accept of.

There is Newes by A mores shipp (6) Arrived from Metchlepatam that Mr Blake is detained at the Fort, which I wish may prove true. By the same Vessle, Mr Bridges Received a letter from Mr Evans, (7) who was

(1) As the new legal year began on March 25, the letter should have been dated March 28, 1670.

(2) Dingee (Hind. *dengi* or *dingi*), a native rowing-boat.

(3) Corge, an Indian mercantile term for a score.

(4) Maund *(mani)*, an Indian measure of weight, varying in different districts. The Hugli maund at this period was about 70 lb. avoirdupois.

(5) Metchlepatam longees, *i.e.*, Masulipatam *lunggis* or loin-cloths.

(6) A Muhammadan vessel. Moor was the common Anglo-Indian term for Muhammadan.

(7) I have failed to identify this individual, who must not be confused with the Rev. John Evans, to be mentioned later.

ready to sail from Tenassare (1) within 3 dayes after the Moors Junck. The French At Metchlepatam are together by the ears, the Chief and Second fighting A duel at the garden, soe that they are like to thrive. (2)

I have delivered Mr Haselwood A Ps. of black plaister you formerly writt off, the Mango time Comming you may have occasion for. (3) To write the Valorous acts of Mrs. Brodnax since Mr Bridges his Comming Away would be to tedious, soe Referr you to Mr Vincent who Can give you A full account.

I have spoke to Mr Peacock (4) About the Ebony, which he sa[ith] was stolen whilest he was at Cassumbuzar But has sent A small brass Ruler and A China Ink cup he promised you, which are delivered Mr Haselwood, and not knowing of his Coming soe Suddenly haveing little else at present to Advise,

Remaine
Your Reall affectionately Loving Friend
JNO. VICKERS

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant in Cassumbazar.

LETTER XIX.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3417.)

Hugly the Ultimo March 1670

Dear Freind

These serve onely to Cover the inclosed which Came hither the 29th present, which I presumed to open, Not knowing but there might be some thing sent by Mr Freeman for you upon the vessle it Came on. I have Not sold any of the goodes as yett; to day the Comander of the Dutch Japon Shipp (5) sent for A sample of them; to night expect his Answer. I shall leave no way untried to dispose of them as soon as possible. Having little else [a]t present (supposing My last by Mr

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(1) Tenasserim, whence trade was carried on in elephants.

(2) The French had not been long at Masulipatam. On Aug. 27, 1669, six "French men from Golchondah" arrived, and rejecting "the House that was the Danes Factory," as "not having sufficient accommodation," they "treated about a stately House built but 2 years since by the Shabander" (*shahbandar*, harbour-master). (See *O C.*, 3330.)

(3) Pitch plaister, a remedy for boils induced by the overeating of ripe fruit.

(4) George Peacock, another of Richard Edwards's contemporaries, will be noticed later.

(5) Dutch Japon shipp, *i.e*, a Dutch ship bound for Japan.

Peacock is by this [time] C[o]me] to ypur hand), and no Newes but what Mr Freeman [torn away]

Remaine

Your Reall & affectionately Loving Freind,

JNO. VICKERS

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant in Cassumbazar.

LETTER XX.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough draft).

(O. C. 3418.)

Cassumbuzar Aprill the 5th 1670

To Mr Vickers

Yours of the 28th past month Per Mr Peacock, and Ultimo Per Cossid have received the 2d and 3d present. Per the first you advise of your receipt of the bale, which you find agreeing with the note, and that you are in Some doubt of their Sales, but hope the Person which your last mentions Sent for a Sample, may have taken them off which would [be] more advantagi[ous torn away] the effect to make a timely Investment against [the departure] of our Shipps.

The Ps. Sannoes have not yet received, Mr Haselwood having put it in a chest laden on a boate which is not yet arrived, but doubt not but it will prove good, and render you many thanks for your care in its procury, and desire you would as freely use me if you have occasion for any thing these Partes yeild. I heartily thanke you for the Ps. Longees and black plaister, which fear I shall too Soone have occasion to use.

The letter you enclosed, from Mr Freeman have rather cause to give you thanks for the opening of, you therein Sir giving me proofe of your kind care in my concernes which I shall Study to deserve, and answer by the like in any thing you Shall command, wherein pray Spare not.

I give you many thanks for the news you communicated to me. I am Sorry I have none to [? return]e you, and that I cannot aswer both yours so f[ully? as I could wis]h. I as[sure] you I had hardly a gurry's(1) time to write since Mr Vincent, &ca. their arrivall, which was the 2d at night, so hope you will excuse me.

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed] To Mr Vickers, April 5th 70.

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(1) Hardly a gurry's time = hardly a spare hour. Ghurry, *ghari*, is a water-instrument for measuring time, and the word is used by Europeans in India for "an hour."

LETTER XXI.

Richard Edwards to John Smith (rough draft).

(O. C. 3419.)

Cassumbuzar le 11th April 70 [1670].

To Mr Smith

Yours of the 9th past month received togither with the 2 ps. Tanjeebs, (1) for the procury whereof returne you many thanks, and desire you would Satisfie your Selfe their amount out of what money you may receive of mine from Gohattee, (2) or otherwise order the payment of it here, and therewith Shall comply, with many thanks to you for [yo]ur [? kindn]esse.

The Jellolseys (3) pray let b[e] pro[cured a]t your best leisure, having no occasion for them till the Ships arrivall, they being to send for England, for which reason begg they may be of good cloth and handsome flower.

I could not omitt this opportunity of writing per Mr Jones who is to reside with you, and withall to advise you receipt of the Tanjeebs, else had not now troubled you, having Slightly hurt my finger, yet So that I can hardly write, as you may well perceive by my Scribble; therefore Subscribe

Sir Your

R. E.

[Endorsed] To Mr Smith aprill 11th: 70

LETTER XXII.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3420.)

Hugly the 11th Aprill 1670

Dear Freind

Yours of the 5th Current I Received the 9th ditto Per which I Understand you Received mine of the 20th and Ultimo past month, in which I advised you that A sample of the silks were aboard the Dutch shipps, but Returned againe, they being as they say to short, and the Girdles not propper for Japon, soe doubting their sale I have stewed (4) them up in A drie Chest against our Europe shipps Arrivall, But if you think you may Invest the Money better, here is severall would willingly give prime Cost to keep them for the shipps. (5)

(1) See Letter XV.

(2) Gauhati, the ancient capital of Assam, an important city in the seventeenth century. Edwards had apparently entrusted a native merchant with goods to dispose of there on his behalf.

(3) See Letter XV.

(4) Apparently a clerical error for "stowed."

(5) The Company's ships, the arrival of which was expected in June or July.

If there be any slight silk (1) fitting for Curtaines made with you, pray be pleased to buy me enough for an ordinary Cott (2) (if [it] will not exceed 6 or 7 Rupees), getting them made up with you (for here is few Taylers), and send them Per the 1st opertunity.

Having little else at present save well wishes for your health, Remaine

Your Reall and Affectionately Loving Freind,

JOHN VICKERS

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant In Cassumbazar.

LETTER XXIII.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough draft).

(O. C. 3421.)

Cassumbuzar Le 20th Aprill 1670

To Mr Vickers

Yours of the 11 Current came to hand the 16th, advising your Receipt of mine of the 5th Instant, and that the Sample Sent for aboard the Dutch Ship was returned, and that you could Sell the Parcell for prime Cost, of which I advised Mr March, who thinks it better to keepe them till the arrivall of our Ships, unlesse can gett 15 or 20 Per Cent, and Sayes he does not desire you Should pay for your Part till they are Sold.

Since my last received the peece Sannoes, (3) which proves an excellent good one and very well bought; I have given you Creditt for it and a[m] (yo'l finde) your Debtor; received also the Lungees (4) &ca. (5) things you sent Per Mr Haselwood, for which returne many thanks.

The Curtaines you write for Shall Send Per next opportunity, having by chance mett with Some Stuffe fitt for them, for they make none here. I have given them out to the Taylor; by the next (6) they will be ready. I am very glad you will use [me] in any thing wherein I am able to Serve you, and I assure you nothing will be to me more wellcome than to see you; with all freedome Comand.

[Unsigned]

Mr March desired me to caution you for the future not to make knowne the prize of any goods Sent you (and he is advised you did of these), because they are Cheaper than they would be rated if Provided for another

[Endorsed] To Mr Vickers Aprill 20th : 70.

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(1) Silk of thin texture.

(2) Cot, Hind, *khát*, a wooden bedstead.

(3) See Letter VI.

(4) See Letter XVII.

(5) Here, as frequently, "&ca." signifies "and other."

(6) Next opportunity for conveyance.

LETTER XXIV.

George White to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3422.)

[George White, a prominent character in the East in the seventeenth century, had a chequered and interesting career. He and John Jearsey went out to India at the same time as Edwards, the one in the *Rainbow,* commanded by Capt. Richard Goodlad, and the other in the *Madrass Merchant,* commanded by Capt. William Wildey. In what capacity White sailed has not been ascertained, but it seems probable that he was one of the officers or crew of the *Rainbow*, since the Company looked upon him as under Capt. Goodlad's orders. Moreover, he must have known something of navigation as he sailed a vessel to Persia shortly after his arrival in India. However, on reaching Masulipatam, both men deserted their ships and started as independent traders. In 1669, after a visit to Bengal, White went on a private voyage to Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) in the *Consent,* belonging to William Jearsey, uncle of John Jearsey and Chief of the Company's factory at Masulipatam, and in 1672 he made a second voyage to Persia in the *Dispatch.*

The Company was much incensed on learning that White and Jearsey had remained in India. In their letter of Dec. 7, 1669, the Court of Committees wrote to the Council at Fort St. George: "If there be any English in your parts, out of our Service, that act nothing prejuditiall to our trade and comerce, nor offer any disturbance to our people, wee are content that such be permitted to stay, of whome give us an accompt of their names, quallities and imployments, But if any of them be found acting the contrary, wee require you to send all such persons home for England, and perticulerly one White, that was inticed from Captain Goodlad, and Mr Jearsies Nephew that went over in the Madras, As also all others that shall for the future come into India without our leave, according to the power graunted us by his Majesties Charter."

White had, meanwhile, ingratiated himself with the Council at Fort St. George, and they recommended him and John Jearsey to the Company's favour; but the Court of Committees replied (Dec. 13, 1672) that "in reguard" they "went from hence contrary to our Orders, wee are so farr from enterteyning them, that unless they behave themselves well, wee shall order their returne for England, for wee must discontenance the Practize of getting persons over in

such clandestine waies." In May, 1673, the Court again expressed dissatisfaction with White, and ordered his return "by our next shipping." At this time he was living at Fort St. George or Masulipatam with his wife Mary, and trading at both places as a "freeman." In 1674, and again in 1675, he went to Bengal, but could find no "profitable voyage." He then pitched upon Siam as a new field for his enterprise, and early in 1676 he sailed for Ayuthia, whither his wife followed him a few months later.

In reply to a further order from the Court directing White's return, the Council at Fort St. George wrote (July 23, 1676) that he had paid the fine of 100*l.* to remain in India as a "freeman" upon his "good behaviour," that they had "nothing to object against" him, and that he had been "much slaundered" by the report of "his ministeriallness in any bodys trade here." They added that, as White and his family had now gone to Siam, they were out of their "command." Before the Madras letter reached England, the Court had again written (Dec. 15, 1676), insisting that he should either reside at Fort St. George with the other "freemen" or come home.

White, however, remained in Siam, and procured the favour of the king of that country. In 1678, when Richard Burneby was sent on a visit of inspection to the recently settled English factory at Ayuthia, he recommended George White to the Company as a person whose experience and knowledge would be valuable to them. White was at that time employed in piloting the King of Siam's vessels between Mergui and the Coromandel coast. In 1679 he fell into ill odour with the Siamese, with the rest of his countrymen, and consequently returned to Masulipatam, where he and his wife arrived in his own ship *Phœnix* on Dec, 20, 1681. In February, 1682, he embarked for England, but still continued to trade in the East on his own account.

In 1687 occurred the massacre of the English at Mergui, and the consequent declaration of war against Siam. George White, who had always opposed the Company's pretensions to a monopoly of trade in India, now showed himself directly antagonistic to their policy. He condemned the war with Siam, petitioned Parliament on behalf of his brother Samuel, who had been associated with him in that country, and drew up a pamphlet against the East India Company. A full account of the case of Samuel White and the part that his brother George played in it is given by Dr. Anderson (*English Intercourse with Siam, passim* and Appendix F), but

Anderson's account of George White is not always in accord with the above statements, since he had not then had access to the India Office Records.

On Feb. 10, 1690, the *Court Minutes* record that George White's "pretences" against the Company were referred to arbitration, and in May, by a decree of Chancery, the sum of 3,700*l.* was awarded to him and 1,300*l.* more "when the Company is established by Act of Parliament." White was at that time associated with Thomas Pitt (afterwads Governor of Fort St. George) in the interloping ships *Edward* and *Henry*. These were bought up by the Company in 1694.

George White next appears as a Director of the New (or English) Company trading to the East Indies, established in 1698. He took the oath on Sept. 7, and in October was chosen Chief for "the Coast" (*i.e.*, Masulipatam), but "desireing to be excused from goeing to India," his place was taken by John Pitt, cousin of Thomas Pitt. White remained a Director until April 11, 1701, after which date I have failed to trace him. No details of his parentage have yet been elicited, nor has any mention been found of his wife after 1681. See *O.C.* 3325, 3862, 3972, 4022, 4042, 4215, 4233; *Court Minutes*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 3, 144, xxxiv, p. 77, xxxv, pp. 261, 270, xxxvi, pp. 4, 39, xxxvii. p. 59, xxxviia; *Letter Books*, xi; Pringle, *Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George* (1682), pp. 2, 14, 101; Yule, *Diary of Wm. Hedges*, ii, pp. 23, 31; Anderson, *op. cit.*]

[Kārwār(1) 23d April 1670]

Mr Richard Edwards

Esteemed Freind

When departed from Ballasore, left with Mr Vicars a Letter for you, wherein acknowledged the receipt of your silke stockings, parte whereof have already disposd off, *V*[*is*]. 6 pr largest at 10 Rups. Per pair, and 3 pr lesser at 8 Rups., the amount in all 84 Rups. Those sould to the Governour of Cochin(2); the rest are still by me. How you will esteeme of their produce I know not, but assure you my Endeavours were not wanting to have raisd it higher, and though must confess the price is but very ordinary, yet considering 2 pr of them were spotted, choose rather to sell them than hazard another markett, not beeing then certaine of setting up my habitation soe neare

(1) Karwar, a port on the Malabar coast (west coast of India), in the North Kanara District. In 1638 Sir Wm. Courten's Company settled a factory there, and the place became a centre whence muslins, pepper, &c., were exported.

(2) Cochin, the capital of the native State of that name, and a port on the Malabar Coast, was one of the early settlements of the Portuguese, from whom it was taken by the Dutch in 1663.

Goa,(1) as have since been forcd by the unfortunate loss of our voyadge to Persia,(2) which is noe small detrym[e]nt to me, beeing here confind to a place from whence cannot proceed till the middle October, and in all the interim noething to d[oe] more than lament my misfortunes for the loss of a whole yeare, which by reason of this obstruction shall waste to noe purpose.

My hopes are that better success has attended your Endeavours, which shall not only at all tymes be glad to hear, but unfeignedly will to my power Assist by all Opportunityes that offer to doe you any freindly services, Particularly, if in the tyme of my imprisonment here, any thing presents that will improve the produce of your stockings at Persia, will invest the amount for your account, and when God pleases to returne me, the whole proceed shall be fait[hf]ully remitted you by

Your Reall Freind to serve you

GEORGE WHITE

Carwar

Aprill 23d 1670

P.S. If Mr John Marshall be settled at your Factory (which was in agitation when I left your parts), let me advise you to entertaine an intimate correspondence with him, whome can assure you upon my owne tryall is a right honest and ingenuous Person.

idem. G. W.

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassambuzar

LETTER XXV.

John Vickers to R. Edwards.

(O. C. 3423.)

Hugly the 5th May 1670

Dear Friend

Yours of the 20th Ulto. came to hand the 25th, Advising of the Receipt of mine of the 11th do., and that you had Received the Sannoes which I am very glad proves well; since which, the 29th, I Received yours of the 26th Per Mr Vincent and a Pair of Curtaines for which (to omitt Complements) I Returne you many thanks. I have spoke to Mr Vincent about the sannoes who saies he will be sure to remember them.

The goodes lyes as yet Unsold and fear will till the Europe shipps Arrivall.

(1) Goa, the capital of the Portuguese settlement, and a port on the west coast of India, captured by Albuquerque in 1510. It is not from Kārwār, and was at this period a great and rich city

(2) This apparently means that White started too late in the season, and had to wait for a change of Monsoon (trade wind).

Mr Evans (1) is come to Ballasore but John Lewis (2) Died at tenassaree. (3) If I mistake Not, he left A kind of A letter of Attourney with you. If you think it will signify any thing, you may send it Downe, but Now he is Dead, I hear he spent his money first among Weomen.

In yours you write Mr. March heard that I made knowne the prices of the Goodes sent Downe, whom pray Present my humble service and Advise him that Noe man in this Factory does know from me their prime Cost within 30 Per Cent. I know the Author must be Mr Haselwood, who was in My Chamber when I was asked their prime Cost; further, I suppose he may have inform'd him about my Tumbling the Goodes (as he termd it) when I Removed them out of the bale into a Chest, fearing any wett or ratts might gett to them. I perceive that Mr Haselwoods great knowledge in Cassumbazar may easily be Deceived in overrating goods, that Could Not guess with 30 Per Cent.

Having little else, but Dear Brother, (4) be assured I look upon any Concerns of yours with the same Care as my own, which Experience I hope will Confirme, In the mean time shall Crave leave and Remaine

Your Reall and affectionately loving Freind
JNO. VICKERS

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassumbazar

LETTER XXVI.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough draft).

(O. C. 3424.)

Cassumbuzar May Le 19th: 70

To Mr Vickers

Yours of the 5th Current came to hand yesterday, advising your receipt of mine of the 20th and 26th past month and the Curtains, for your friendly acceptation of which I kindly thanke you, and desire you would doe the like by a Sett of Strings for a Cott (5) and a Sett of do. to tye up your Curtaines, which you shall receive Per bearer. Th[ey we]re intended to have been Sent togither with the Curtaines but could not be gott ready.

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(1) See Letter XVIII.

(2) John Lewis is probably indentical with the "Mr. Lewis" mentioned in the attestation of Shem Bridges against William Blake, June 7, 1669 (O. C. 3288), but I have failed to find anything further about him.

(3) Tenasserim.

(4) See notice of Vickers, Letter V.

(5) The cotton webbing for making the seat of the cot or bedstead.

Pray Present my humble Service to Mr Vincent, and if any opportunity Presents betwixt the Procury of the Sannos and his returne hither, pray gett them of him and Send them mee.

If the goods lye unsold till the Shipps arrivall, I thinke twill be better then to dispose of them for any inconsiderable advance, the time now growing Some thing neer. And as to your making knowne the prime cost of them, it had been no great matter had it been really So, but yet I am glad you did not, and that that caution was uselesse for that purpose; but thus much it may give you an Item of, (1) that trivaill words and actions are Sometimes taken notice of and carryed farr off by those who minde more prying into oth[ers a]ctions then with ordering their owne.

I am sorry to hear of John Luce his death,(2) have herewith Sent you his papers, which I thinke would have been of no value had he left any thing, So has done wisely to ease you of the trouble.

Mr Jones is returned from Dacca, having been very ill of a flux (3) there, and arrived here Somewhat weake.

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed] To Mr Vickers May 19th. 70.

LETTER XXVII.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3425.)

Hugly May the 24: 1670

Dear Freind

Yonrs of the 19th Currt. I Received the 22d and the Cott and Curtaine strings, for which Returne you many thanks. John Lewis his papers I likewise Received, but I think they will Signify Nothing if he had died Worth any thing.

The goods lye as yett unsold, nobody inquiring for them Now.

The 7th of this month hapned A very sad fire at Ballasore, (4) which burnt most part of the towne and by Computation 6 or 7000 houses.

The two Ps of cloth I Received just now which goes Per this Conveighance. Mr Vincent departs hence suddenly, Per whom shall write

(1) This use of "item" for "hint, intimation," is now obsolete in England. See the examples in the '*O.E.D.*'

(2) John Lewis. See Letter XXV.

(3) This means dysentery, then called "flux" or "bloody flux." See Acts xxviii, 8.

(4) Not an uncommon occurrence in Eastern towns, consisting largely of wooden houses with bamboo mat walls and thatched roofs The editor has known several instances. Another disastrous fire occurred at Balasor in November, 1674, when the Company's factory house was burnt down.

more at large, in the meane time desire you will hold me excused, subscribing

Your Reall affecticnately Loving Friend

JNO. VICKERS

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassumbazar

LETTER XXVIII.

John Smith to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3426.)

Decca May 29th 1670

Mr Richard Edward

Loving freind

Yours of date the 12 Aprill by Mr Jone[s] I received 26 do. I am sorry to here that you have hurt your finger but hope theres noe great danger; however pray take good Strong Cordialls to keepe it from your heart. (1) According to your order, shall get ready as good flower'd Jelolsies (2) as possible. I have longe Since sent some to work, (3) which I intend for you, but since have lighted of one verry fine peece, and if can match it with two other shall get them ready for you.

Mr Jones at his arivall fell Sick, which discouraged him soe much that hee soone resolved to returne to the place from whence hee came, and hope longe ere this hee's safe arived with you.

I have with much adoe sould 10 of your swords for 3 rs. 8 as. Per ps., and as much as possible shall indeavour the Sale of the rest, which with wishes for your health and happinesse is all at present from

Your Reall freind to serve you

JOHN SMITH

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassumbuzar

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(1) An M.D. to whom I referred this passage remarked that it was "sound medicine," as the alcohol would prevent absorption and minimise the danger of septic poison.

(2) See Letter XV.

(3) To work=to be worked or embroidered.

LETTER XXIX.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3431)

Hugly the 3d June 1670

Dear Friend

My last to you was the 23d Ulto. and the two peeces sanaes which I hope is Come safe to your hands long before this. Per this Conveighance of Mr Vincent have sent, Per a bill of Exchange upon Ugersine, (1) 400 Rupees, which I would desire you to Invest for me, 300 in silk longees, if to be provided time enough for the Europe Shipps, if not, in any thing you shall think Convenient, except these girdles, here being A quantity (with what I Understand to be provided for others) enough to glutt the Markett, but these being in a readiness (which will much advance the price of goodes, though they Cost somewhat Deare to have them downe timely) question not but will quickly vend. And I must desire your Utmost Indeavour that what goodes you buy for me may bee provided as soon as possible, for, besides the Advance in all probabillity there may be upon the price, the Interest will not eat out soe much. The other 100 pray Invest as you shall think fitting.

Since our Comming to Hugly Wee have dietted below by our selves, Mr Bridges keeping A Private table, but of late here has hapned such strange Differences between Mr Nurss,(2) Bullivant, Billingsly, Mr Bagnold and my self, the 3 former envying us for I Cannot tell what, except it be that Wee live More Contented then they and have the Chiefs favour, to Whom you and I are very Much obliged (for the generall letter to England lately Coming to View to be Coppied in the Register(3)) he was writ very favourably in our behalf to encrease our Sallary and give leave for preferment; And about A Week past ordered the Banian(4) to lett me have 1000 or 1500 Rupees at Interest to provide goodes against the Europe Shipps Arriveall. The former they [?know and] suppose guess at the latter, soe that I thinke [illegible] Mallice is soe Much that Wee are irreconciliable, But [there] is less Danger in A barking Parriar Cur that Cannot bite ones shins then A roaring lion, and to avoid their Clamorous and abusive tongues, which None Can escape in this Factory, Wee have left their Mess.(5)

(1) Ugra Sen, a native broker.

(2) Valentine Nurse will be noticed later.

(3) This letter has not been found.

(4) Banyā, Hindu trading caste, but the term is here applied to the Company's Hindu broker.

(5) "Mess" appears to be used here in its original meaning of a small group of persons. sittting together and helped from the same dishes. See the '*O.E.D.*' *s.v.* Mess, *sb.* I. 4.

Having little else save my humble Service to Mr March &ca., hoping that when you have occasion you will as freely use

Your Reall and affectionately Loving Friend
JNO. VICKERS

P.S. Yours of the 30th Ulto. just now received and am glad the sannaes Came safe to you. If you meet with any goodes you think fitting, you may Invest but 200 rupees in longees.

Idem J. V.

Mr Vincent Receipt inclosed you will receive J. V.

[Endorsed] To Mr. Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassumbazar

LETTER XXX.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3433.)

Hugly the 13th June 1670

Dear Friend

My last to you was the 3d present Per Mr Vincent which I hope you have received before this. These are only to accompany the inclosed to Mr Marshall, which I would desire you to send forward by the first opportunity of your own Cossetts(1) or any Merchants belonging to Cassumbazar, there being A bill of Exchange for 300 rupees in it to be invested in Ophium, soe the sooner it Comes to his hand the better.

Having fully Writt you Per the last, have little More at presant then to assure you I Remaine

Your Reall and affectionately Loving Friend
JNO. VICKERS

Post S:

Since the above written the Merchant hath drawne a bill upon ugersine (2) for 600 rupees, which you will receive enclosed (300 being for Mr Bagnolds account, the other 300 for mine), who upon Receipt of this bill will deliver you another upon Goculdass (3) in Pattana, which Pray send forward with the [e]nclosed letters to Mr Marshall(4) as above written. Mr Evans a bout 3 dayes hence goes to Ballasore and Intends in September to goe to tenassaree(5) againe, Who desires kindly to be

(1) See Letter V.
(2) See Letter XXIX.
(3) Gokul Dás, a merchant.
(4) John Marshall was at this time serving as a factor at Patna under Job Charnock.
(5) See Letters XVIII, XXV.

remembred to you and bad me assure, if in any thing he Can serve you there, you shall find him very ready at any time. Pardon the trouble the inclosed will give you, being from your

idem friend
JNO. VICKERS

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassumbazar

[In Wm. Bagnold's writing] If this peone(1) arrive not with you on the 19th Instant accordinge to his promise, then pray have him chastized.

LETTER XXXI.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough draft.)

(O.C. 3434.)

Cassumbazar June the 15th 1670

Writt to Mr Vickers of the receipt of his of the 3d Instant and the enclosed bill for 400 rs. and desired him to buy me an escritore, of price from 5 rs. to 15 or 20.

June the 20th

To Ditto

Yours of the 13th Instant received yesterday night (the Cossid just complying with his word) together with the encloseds for Mr Marshall(2) and a bill for the procury of another payable in Pattana, which I have gott, and is Charged on Gocaldass, Merchant, for 600 rs. payable four days after Sight to Mr John Marshall in Shaw Jehaun rupees.(3) Not hearing of any Merchants Cossid ready shortly to goe for Pattana, nor likely to Send any of our owne till letters come from Hu[gly] for that place, I have Sent one on purpose who promises to reach thither in 8 days(4) whose hyre being 3 rs. 8 a. pray give me Creditt for; and although I have therein gone beyond your o[r]ders, yet I hope I shall not have contraryed your desires, when you consider the raines now coming in would much retard their Speedy arrivall, and the uncertainty also when to have met with an opportunity of Sending by any other conveighance.

Your bill of 400 rs. will be due to morrow, it being by the roguery of them that drew it made payable 10 days after Sight, a thing unusuall. When

(1) Peon, from Port. "peão," an "orderly" or messenger.

(2) See Letter XXX.

(3) Shāhjahāni rupees, *i.e.*, rupees coined in the time of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, who reigned 1628-58.

(4) The distance between Kāsimbāzār and Patna by road is about 250 miles.

I receive it, I shall (as I advised in my last of the 15th Instant, which hope you have received) take care speedyly to dispose it out, and give you advice thereof, and assure your Selfe I shall endeavour to gett it in as [the letter breaks off here]

[Endorsed]

To Mr Vickers 15th & 20th June 70

LETTER XXXII.

Richard Edwards to John Marshall (rough draft).

(O.C. 3435.)

[John Marshall was elected factor "for the Coast or Bay," at 30*l.* per annum, on Jan. 13, 1668, his securities being Ralph Marshall and Robert Lawes. He sailed from the Downs in the *Unicorn* on March 18, 1668, and reached Masulipatam exactly six months later. In June, 1669, his request to go "to the Bay whither he was designed" was granted, and the Agent and Council at Fort St. George recommended him for employment at Dacca. Shem Bridges and the Bengal Council, however, replied: "Wee take notice of your recommending Mr Marshall to the employment of Decca, but wee must needs say that his naturall modesty calme disposition and Soft though quick utterance of speech, render him not so proper for Durbars (such as that is, which requires audacity to encounter the insolence of the Chubdars [Hind. *chŏbdār*, macebearer, attendant of the Viceroy], as well as Villany of the other officers) as others who may in the interiour endowments of judgement and discretion come short of him; therefore, after the departure of the Shipps, wee shall, according as the state of our business stands, consider whether Decca or some other place where wee shall have occasion to make investments at the best hand may most require his residence, and accordingly dispose him to an employment."

In the end, Marshall was sent to the Company's factory near Patna, where Job Charnock was Chief. Already, during his short stay at Masulipatam, the young factor had made notes of places in the neighbourhood, and while in Bengal he studied the language and manners and customs of the province where he was employed. He was especially interested in the religious beliefs of the Hindus and the science of medicine as practised by them. Legends and folk-lore were also eagerly sought after and committed to writing

by him. On the other hand, he kept a record of commercial matters, weights and measures in various districts, money values, etc., as well as intermittent jottings of current events. Further, he wrote a graphic account of a severe famine which occurred in the neighbourhood of Patna in 1671.

In 1672 Marshall was transferred to Kāsimbāzār, where he served as Second until November, 1676, when he was made Chief at Balasor, with the probability of succeeding as Agent in Bengal. However, on Aug. 30, 1677, he died of an epidemic which proved fatal to his Chief, Walter Clavell, and numerous others in the Company's service.

John Marshall's will (proved Sept. 15, 1679) is dated at "Johnabad," *i.e.*, Jahānābād, a temporary name for Singhiya, where the Company's factory was situated, "near Pattana," on March 7, 1672, and was witnessed in June, 1673, at Kāsimbāzār by Matthias Vincent, John Naylor, and Richard Edwards, his brother Ralph being appointed executor. There are some interesting bequests. To "Goodwife Willowes of Maplethorp, co. Lincoln," he left 20*s*. "in token of gratitude for her setting my thigh when 8 years old," and "To Matthias Vincent, merchant and chief for the Hon: English East India Company in Cassumbuzar in Bengala East Indies, all my Arabian and Persian printed Books and history of China in folio." The testator directed that his MS. "'concerning India' should be sent to Dr. Henry Moore and Mr. John Covell, fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, for their perusal," and then to be returned to his brother Ralph. He further directed that a tomb should be erected to his memory at the "mouth of Ballasore River for a landmark for vessels coming into the Road."

John Marshall's MSS. (for there are three), as well as the log of the *Unicorn* in which he made his voyage to India, eventually found their way to our national library, and are now in the MS. Department of the British Museum, catalogued MS. Harleian 4253(1), 4253(2), and 4254. They are entitled 'A Dialogue between J. Marshall and a Bramin (Muddoosoodun Raure) [Madūsūdan Rārh, *i.e.*, a Rārhī Brāhman] at Cass^{r} . began the 18 March, 1675,' 'Acct. of Muddoosoodum Raure Bramine,' and 'Notes and Observations of East India Liber A. Memorandums concerning India from Septr 11th, 1667, to January 1°, 1671/2, per J. M.'

Marshall was also the author of 'An Accompt of Pattana,' a description of the method of trade in saltpetre in that district, drawn up at the request of Streynsham Master in 1676. The directions regarding

the tomb were not complied with, for when Streynsham Master, then Governor of Fort St. George, visited Balasor in 1679, he remarked that "there was little or noe marke for the Barr at Ballasore river mouth, now the Tomb that was built by the Dutch was fallen downe the last foule weather, and the monys given some years since by Mr. March and Mr. Marshall to build Tombs over their bodys there buryed, that they might be markes for the Barr, were not like to be soe expended." See *Court Miuutes*, vol, xxva, p. 45, and vol. xxvi. pp. 88, 91, and 95; *Factory Records*, Fort St. George, vols. xvi. and xviii., Hūgli, vols. i and iv., Kāsimbāzār, vol. i.; 'Miscellaneous,' vol. iii.; *Letter Books* vols. iv and v.; *O. C.* 3344, 3765; *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, *passim*; *P. C. C. Wills* (119 King) *Admons.*, 1678.]

Cassumbuzar June the 20th 1670

To Mr Marshall

Last night received the enclosed from Hugly, togither with a bill to exchange for one payable in pattana, which have Procured heerwith and enclosed send you, charg'd on Gocaldas, merchant, for 600 rups, payable 4 daya after Sight in Shaw Jehaun Rupees.

Mr Vickers intimating h[i]s, Some necessity of the bills Speedy arrivall with you, caused me (neither having nor expecting any quick conveighance) to forward it by an exprest Cossid, (1) who engages to be with you in [blank] days, with which time, if he complyes not, you may please to give him So good a payment as may Serve for an example to others.

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed] To Mr Marshall June 20th 70

LETTER XXXIII.

Richard Edwards to John Smith (rough draft.)

(O. C. 3436.)

Cassumbuzar June the 24th 1670

To Mr Smith

Yours of the 29 past month received, and by it advice of your having Sold 10 of my Swordblades att 3 r. 8 a. Per ps., att which price, though Somewhat low, I could wish the rest were disposed of and to that end earnestly begge you would use your utmost endeavour, that if possible I might have their produce to Invest this year; and pray, if you hear any

(1) A special messenger. There is no example of the spelling "exprest" in this sense in the O. E. D.

news of my Gohattee adventure, (1) give me advice by the next, and also how many Sword blades of mine you have in your hand.

I give you many thanks for your care to Procure the Jellolseys and desire you would done me the favour, if you Shall Sell So many of my Swords as Shall pay their amount, to procure me 3 or 4 peeces of adthy (2) att about 20 rs., or Somewhat more or lesse, Per peece, and in your cloth investment I doubt not but you may meete with Some peeces about those prizes very good and good-cheape, (3) and will I hope, with Such befriend

Unsigned

I have sent Per Mr Jones (who now goes again to reside with you) 2 ps. braid, the one Silver and gold, weight 6 : 14, (4) the other Silver, weight 7¾, which pray endeavour the Speedy disposall of, but if you find them not likely to Sell with you pray returne them Per the first.

[Endorsed] To Mr Smith June 24th ; 70

LETTER XXXIV.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3437.)

Hugly the 25th June 1670

Dear Friend

Yours of the 11th and 20th Instant I received the 15th and 23d do : Advising the Receipt of mine of the 3 do : Per Mr Vincent, and that through the roguery of them that drew the bill the Money was made payable 10 dayes after sight, but hope by this time it may be Received and giving out.

I should have Complyed with your Desire long before this in rendering Mr Bridges thankes, (5) but have not met with an opertunity, but shall, I hope, Suddenly effect it, with my owne, having said Nothing to him yet.

For the Disposall of the braid, I leave it to you to doe what you think [e[Convenient, approving very well of your proposal of sending it to Mr Smith, Returning You many thanks for your Care in soe Triviall a matter, it being Scarce worth your trouble.

Here Arriving lately A Dutch Ship from Goa, have enquired abroad for a escritore, but Cannot hear of any. Pray by the Next advise what fashion you would have it, whither A Small flatt one for A Pallankee, or with dores, or of that fashion Mr Peacocks was which suppose you have seen, having A

(1) See Letter XXI.

(2) Commonly spelt adathy, adatie. The word is Hind. *adhotar*, a coarse kind of cloth.

(3) Low-priced.

(4) There is a sign above these figures which is illegible. It may be ll. (for ld.). if so, the weight was 14 lb. 8 oz.

(5) For his commendation of Edwards and Vickers see Letter XXIX.

promiss from 1 or 2 Dutch men to procure me one when the Shipps Come which suppose will bee suddenly.

In yours of the 20th you advise the Receipt of mine of the 13th, togither with the bill of Exchange upon ugersine having Received Another upon Goculdaes, a Merchant in Pattana and that D[ou]bting of A speedy Conveighan[ce], You had Dispeeded A Cossett on purpose (which ought to have been incerted by me but was forgot), and Returne you many thankes for your Care therein, and have given you Credit for the 3 r: 8 an: Paid the Cossett, and hope You will as freely use me upon all occasions.

The Goodes lyes as yet Unsold, though not for Want of Indeavouring. I suppose it will Not be long before I may goe to Ballasore. Per the Next Pray advise whither You will venter the Goods there, or shall leave them here with Mr Bagnold, who desires kindly to be remembred to you, and promises You A letter Per the Next. Having this time short warning, have little else at present, Save my humble Service to Mr March and Mr Vincent, and m[y] Respects to Mr Haselwood, Jo[nes] and Peacock if with you, and to subscribe my selfe

Your Reall and affectionately Loving Freind
JNO. VICKERS

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
in Cassumbazar

LETTER XXXV.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough draft).

(O. C. 3438.)

Cassumbuzar June the 30th 1670

To Mr Vickers

Yours of the 25th Inst. received last night, advising your receipt of mine of the 11th and 20th Inst. I am glad my dispeeding away your Pattana letters by expresse Sorted So well with your desires.

The 27th Inst. received your money due upon the bill, which because it was So late that it could not well be gott in againe timely enough against the Shipping, the Shortest time of investing heer being 4 mos: and then not without remaines, and because Mr March is pleased to Invest what I this year intend for [England] (to whom f[or] that end delivered money above a mo: or 6 weekes agoe), I have, togither with Some more of my owne, delivered your money to him also, who by reason of his large Investment for the Company, himselfe and others, is already Providing Such goods, So that

with the Same labour he can provide Such a parcell in the Same time, which, by reason I have not my Selfe begun any Investment, I could not possibly have effected; and withall, the goods (I doubt not) will be much better, neither will the price, I hope, much exceed what I could have provided them for, Since he promises to doe for us as he does for himselfe, which neither I nor (I believe) you can doubt of, having found him So extreame civil, So that, though I have not complyed with your orders, yet I hope I shall obtaine your favourable opinion that it may be for the better, Seing therein I have done no otherwise for you then I have for my Selfe. The money he will Invest, 200 rs. in Lungees, and the other 200 in goods by which himselfe has got almost Cent Per Cent by, being Small Parcells of Severall things which by acquaintance among the Seamen may be put off to better advantage then greater quantitys.

The goods he would have you to take along with you, and endeavour their Sale as Soon as you can, and if after that, you find that more will vend, he will upon advice Provide Such another Pareell (I Suppose upon the Same account), which being ordinary goods may comonly be Procured ready made.

Your braid I have (according to my former) Sent to Dacca Per Mr Jones who went hence about a weeke agoe. I hope it will find vend there, but if Mr Smith finds no likelyhood of its Sale there, I have ordered him to Send it back againe, intending to remitt it to you, who possibly in Hugly may Sell it as Soone as in any other place.

As for the fashion of the escritore, I would, if you could conveniently Procure them, have one Small one for a pallankee, of Such kind of worke as Mr Vincents, if ever you Saw it (or of any other but those that are inlay'd with flowers or Such Small worke, because with tumbling about, they presently (1) are Spoyled), and one large one either with doors or the Same fashion that Mr Peacock's was, and any Sorte of worke, being there will not be much occasion of removing it, both which I would entreate you to Procure, Provided the amount be not much above 20 rs. If not easily to be gott and at that rate, then pray get either of them, the Small one or the large one.

If while you are att Ballasore, whither I wish your safe arrivall, Mr White Should arrive the[re] (the time of his returne now drawin[g n]eer,(2) pray enquir[e of] him whither he hath sold my Silke Stockings or n[o. If] he hath, what he hath invested their Produce in, and if it [be] in Metchlepatam trade, pray doe me the kindnesse to desire him to get for me about the value of 40 rs. in Shiraz(3) and ro[se] water, and assoone as I have news of his

(1) Quickly, speedily.

(2) See the reason for White's delay, Letter XXIV.

(3) Shirâz wine from Persia.

arrivall, I shall order his payment, and Shall write to you about it's sending up.

I have not more to enlarge, Save to Returne you many thanks for your Promise that when you Speake to Mr Bridges you will returne my humble thanks to him also, and by this way remember you how truly I conforme to your desire to make use of you, or rather indeed to begg pardon of you, that for one thing wherein you use me, I trouble you with ten, but that Such complements are unnecessary where with Confidence I can Joy in your being mine, and beleive you esteeme me

Your

[No endorsement.] [Unsigned

LETTER XXXVI.

Richard Edwards to William Bagnold (rough draft).

(O.C. 3439.)

[William Bagnold (Bagnald or Bagnall), son of William Bagnold, was elected factor for Bengal, at 20*l.* per annum, on the same day as Edwards, Oct. 18, 1667. Two months later he appealed to the Court of Committees to be "excused from serving" and was "dismissed." On Dec. 30, however, he was "readmitted to serve the Company in India," where he arrived in 1668. He was sent from Madras to Bengal, and was employed at Hugli, but in their letter of Dec. 7, 1669, the Court ordered his recall to Fort St. George, and his promotion as a member of Council there on the occurrence of a vacancy. Bagnold seems to have petitioned against leaving Bengal, and as his return was not "insisted on," he remained at Hūglī. In October, 1671, his salary was raised to 30*l.* per annum, and in their General Letter of Dec. 13, 1672, the Court appointed him a member of Council in Bengal. Before the ships conveying this letter had left England, Bagnold was dead. In reporting his decease, the Bengal Council remarked to the Court that he had for some time "managed your business with a great deal of care."

William Bagnold's security on election as a factor was Nicholas Juxon, and an account of his estate was sent to Mr. Joliff. Administration of his effects was granted on Oct. 17, 1676, to "Richard Williamson attorney, appointed by William Bagnald, father of said Wm. Bagnald, late of East Indies, bachelor, deceased." See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 48, 67, 68, 81, 83, 283, and xxvii,

p. 183 ; *Letter Books*, vols. iv and v. ; *Factory Records*, Fort St. George, vol. xvi., and Hūgli, iv. ; *P. C. C. Admons.*]

Cassumbuzar July the 1st 1670

To Mr Bagnold

Your kind recomendations Per Mr Vickers's I received and returne you many thanks for, and also a Promise of a letter Per the next, which I Should esteeme my Selfe happy If this might further the procury of, that it might revive that correspondence I once endeavoured to have held with you, but was broken off, I can not tell whether for my unworthynesse, or possibly through the Crooked reports of Some persons who thought they Served either the [ir] malice or interest in deterring you from it, which reports I shall not endeavour to disprove, Seing if you will please to use me in any thing, experience Shall undeceive you and give you testimony how truly I am

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed] To Mr Bagnold July 1 ; 70.

LETTER XXXVII.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3440.)

Hughly the 8th July 1670

Dear Friend

Yours of the 30th past Month Received the 2d Instant Per Mr Haselwood, Advising the receipt of mine of the 25th past, and for the Reasons you mention approve very well of your delivering the Money to Mr March, returning you many thanks for your Care therein (and according to my old Custome, Not being in A Cap[aci]ty to [write to] [him mys]elfe) [do] des[ire]you to returne Mr M[ar]ch my Most humble thanks for [his] great favour.

Per the first sea Conveighance, if I goe to Ballas[ore], shall order the Goodes thither (Not knowing Yet whith[er I] shall goe by land or sea), and shall sell them as Soon as possible.

For the fasshion of the escritore, Shall observe your orders, but fear shall not procure them within the price limitted, and hope may Send one Per Mr Haselwood.

Here is Newes that Mr White hath lost his Voyage and is put into Commaroon(1) to Winter. When he Arrives, which Suppose will not be before March or Aprill, shall observe what you write about the silk stockings, and give you Notice thereof Per the first opertunity.

(1) The information is incorrect. White had lost his voyage to "Commaroon," *i.e.* Gombroon (Bandar Abbās, Persian Gulf), and had put into Kārwār to winter. See Letter XXIV.

The 6th present [there] Arri[ved ? a Cosset in] B[alla]sore Bringing English le[tt]ers and the Newes [o]f [?6] ships Arrivall [on]the Coast (their Names I know not), (1) I being allready Come to Ballasore, 3 more to Come Downe. Upon these Ships came out A New Agent, Sir William Langhorne,(2) A New Cheif for Metchlepatam, Mr Mohoon,(3) 3 young gentlewomen, I for Mr Clavell, the others for them that Can Catch them(4) ; 2 Parsons. (5) Here is More newes, the Particulars I know not. Mr Wilks, More, Bagnold and Nurse being made Councellours,(6) Mr March Confirmed in his place,(7) whome I wish Much happiness, Mr Hall(8) his Second, Mr Vincent 2d of Hugly, Mr Mainwaring(9) 3 of Metchlepatam, Mr Nurss 2d of Pattana, and

(1) The six ships were the *Returne*, the *Rainbow*, the *Happy Entrance*, the *Mediterranean Merchant*, the *Zant* "Friggatt," and the *Coast* "Friggatt."

(2) Sir William Langhorne, Bart., who succeeded George Foxcraft, was Governor of Fort St George from 1670 to 1678. See the notice of him in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

(3) Richard Mohun, who had already served the Company in India, was appointed to take the place of William Jearsey then in disgrace with the Company. Mohun will be noticed later.

(4) There is some difficulty regarding the identification of these ladies. In the *Court Minutes* of Nov. 10, 1669, (vol. xxvi, p. 289), permission was given for "Mrs. Woodroffe, who is intended to be a wife for Mr. Mathias Vincent," and a "mayd-servant to take passage in the Companies shipping for the Bay of Bangala," and "the like" to "a kinswoman of Sir Mathew Holwarthy, who is intended to be a wife to Mr. Walter Clavell, and her Maidservant." In the General Letter to Hugli, however, dated Dec. 7, 1669 (*Letter Book*, vol iv, p. 307), the Court wrote: "At the request of some freinds of Mr Clavell and Mr Vincent, wee have permitted Mrs. Lance, Mrs Woodroofe and Mrs Croone and two Maids to take their passage in the *Happy Entrance*. The two former, wee understand, are intended as Wives to Mr Clavell and Mr Vincent. Wee have a good Character of there virtues and wee wish them much happinesse." It is evident that there is some mistake in the passage last quoted. Prudence Holworthy was certainly one of the three ladies. She was Walter Clavell's first wife, and she died in Bengal in 1673, leaving one son. It also seems likely that Martha Woodruff sailed to India at the same time, and that she found Matthias Vincent married on her arrival, as his wife Mary bore him a son on Feb. 9, 1671. Martha Woodruffe, therefore, probably took up her abode with the Clavells. She became Walter Clavell's second wife, and only outlived him one day, dying, with her "little infant," at Balasor on Aug. 4, 1677. The maiden name of Vincent's wife and the identity of the third lady who went to India in the *Happy Entrance* have not been ascertained. Mrs. Vincent may have been a Portuguese, as reports were current, and were repeated to the Company, that Vincent's house was a "great resort of Romish Priests." The third lady may either have been Miss Lance or Miss Croone, or, again, these names may belong to the maids who accompanied the Misses Holworthy and Woodruff.

(5) The "parsons" were Edward Newcomb, intended for Masulipatam, and Samuel Tutchin, chaplain of the *Returne*. See *The Church in Madras*, by the Rev. Frank Penny, vol i, pp. 53-4.

(6) Thomas Moore and Timothy Wilkes sailed to India as factors at the same time as Edwards. The Company's letter of Dec. 7, 1669, notifying the persons appointed "of Councell" at Fort St. George, gives Wilkes the seventh place, but has no mention of Moore. William Bagnold, as previously stated, was to be recalled from Bengal; Valentine Nurse was to be "Ninth in the Bay"

(7) As Chief at Kāsimbāzār.

(8) Joseph Hall, a turbulent malcontent, elected factor on Oct. 1, 1667. He refused to take up his allotted post

(9) Matthew Mainwaring, elected factor on Oct. 18, 1667, was appointed Second (not Third) at Masulipatam

Mr Bagnold to goe up to the Fort to be 7th or 8th there, whem I belei[ve] had rather [be]en without his Councellorship [3 words torn away] the Company. As soon as the Cosset Arrived, Mr Bridges Dispatcht another away imediately with the letter that were for your place, unknowne to me, soe Cannot tell whither you might have letters or noe.

Per the Next pray Send A note of the Price of English goodes with you, and allsoe Pepper. Silke longee is like to prove but A bad Comodity this year, the Company ordering None to be sent to them.(1) Wee are much troubled for slippers in this place therefore doe desire you to procure me 5 or 6 Pairs of your fasshion slippers of to or three Colours, sending them down as soon as you Can Conveniently. Mr Vincents slippers, for the bigness, will fitt exactly. I shall not excuse the trouble being to A freind and between [3 words torn away] Can[not be] accounted trouble to serve one anoth[er] and be assur[ed n]othing you Can Command me will be thought soe by him that in Reality is

Your Real and affectionately loving Freind

JNO. VICKERS

[Eudorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merch[ant]

In Cassumbazar

LETTER XXXVIII.

Thomas Haslewood to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3441).

[Thomas Haslewood (or Haselwood) was entertained factor on Nov. 4, 1661. Six years previously, in November, 1655, he had petitioned the Court for employment in India, urging, as a recommendation, that he had "bene bread a Spanish Merchant." His request was, however, refused at that time, as only one factor was required "and hee must be one that hath bine in India." Haslewood arrived at Madras in 1662, and in February, 1663, was sent to Bengal. In 1665 he was at Kāsimbāzār, where he earned the approval of the Court, and his salary was raised from 20*l.* to 30*l.* a year in January, 1668. In July, 1670, he left Kāsimbāzār for Hugli, to put himself under the care of Nilkanth, a native doctor, who had earned a reputation with Europeans and had promised to cure him. As will be seen later, the doctor's faith in his treatment was not justified,

(1) In their letter of Dec. 7, 1669, to Hugli the Court wrote: "Send us noe Logees, here being noe vent or them" (*Letter Book*, vol. iv, p. 305).

for Haslewood died at Hugli on July 20, "in the flower of his age and rise of his fortunes."

No accurate information has been found regarding Thomas Haslewood's family. The factor may possibly have been the son of Thomas Haslewood, "late of Wapping but in parts beyond the sea," administration of whose effects was granted to his "relict" Elizabeth on July 6, 1658. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxiii, p. 239, vol. xxiv, pp. 211, 221; *Factory Records*, Hugli, vol. i.; *O. C.* Nos. 2970, 3069, 3130, 3259, 3452, 3461; *P. C. C. Admons.*, 1658.]

Hugly July 8th 1670

Mr Richard Edwards
Respected Freind

The 2d present I arrived here, since which my distemper is little abated, Nilcunt (1) the Doctor, not having any Phissick propper for me ready before to-day, but Now, by Gods Blessing, he Saies I shall be well in A short time.

Per the last Cosset should have writ you, but di[d] Not [kno]w of [his] going. As for the Newes of the Europe Ships, I suppose you have Received it. Thus wisching you much health, hoping Shortly to see you,

Remaine Your assured Loving Freind to Serve you

THO: HASELLWOOD

P. S. Pray present my service [to] Mr March and respects to Mr Vincent. T. H.

[Endorsed] Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassumbazar

LETTER XXXIX.

William Bagnold to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3443.)

Hugly the 9th July 1670

Mr Richard Edwards
Respected Freind

Yours of the first Instant came to my receipt the 3d, in answere to which I intended you a few lines by the next Cossid after but was disappointed by reason of his suddain dispatch and without my privity, which was some trouble to mee, being I could not Performe my promise, though have but little of business to trouble you with, only doe desire that through the intercourse of

(1) Nilkanth, called Neelcund in *O.C.* 3441, is probable the "Indian Doctor" who was summoned from Hugli to Kāsimbāzār in October, 1676, "to cure Major Puckle (he haveing formerly cured Mr March of the like Distemper)." See *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, i. 431.

Letters our correspondency may bee renewed, which I cannot tell how was broken of, unless I my selfe was guilty of the neglect in not responding to yours formerly received, the cause of which you may please to attribute to my Indisposition of body and to something of more then ordinary business that lay upon mee, haveing none to assist mee but that Gentleman that is now with you, (1) from whom doe suppose you finde the like assistance. I must confess I have allwaies found you to bee a Person reall, which is a motive to mee to desire there may bee a more familliar acquaintance between us, which on my part d[oe] assure yo[u] shall not bee wantinge.

I returne you many thanks for your trouble and care in sending away a Cossed for pattana† with Mr Vickers and my Letters, together with the Bill for Rups. 600 in which I was concerned. Att present I have one further occasion to trouble you, but when I have, doe hope shall finde you willinge to answere my expectations, as you may assure your selfe you shall finde the like uppon any occasion from him whoe desires to approve himselfe

Your Reall Freind to serve you
WM. BAGNOLD

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassumbuzar

[In Richard Edward's writing]
from Mr Bagnold
9th July 70

LETTER XL.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough draft).

(O.C. 3444.)

Cassumbuzar July 11th: 1670

To Mr Vickers

My last to you was Per Mr Haselwood, Since which have not received any from you (the Cossid that brought news of the Ship's arrivall and Some letters being possibly dispeeded away before you had any notice of it), So that I am ignorant whither you yet remaine in Hugly or are proceeded on for Ballasore, where supposing you may be, I have Some requests to make to you. The first is from Mr March, who desires kindly to be remembred to you and

(1) Thomas Jones appears to be meant. See Letter XXVIII.
(2) Patna. See Letter XXXI.

Intreats you would Send him a Copie of the Company's generall to the bay, (1) provided your other Imployments lend you So much leisure and that it may be done without any Prejudice to your Selfe, which he would not have you in the least to hazard. Mine are of the Same nature as that you would favour me with what news you Shall have out of England concerning the building of the City(2) or any thing else, and that if the letters be not dispeeded away, as Soone as they come ashore, you would take mine (if I have any) and Send them away imediately by a Cossid, whom pray ingage by Promising him more then his ordinary hyre if he does, and agreeing to cutt off some if he does not arrive here in 7 or 8 days, and if I Should have any thing else come by the Shipps, pray take it into your Custody.

I hope my disposall of your money meetes with your approbation and also that you may find vend for the girdles &ca. I have not more to add at Present Save my best wishes for your prosperity and that you may have good news from England, So subscribe

[Unsigned]

I hope you'l give us an ample account of the ladys (3) and their lady birds (4) too.

[Endorsed] To Mr Vickers July 11th : 70.

LETTER XLI.

Richard Edwards to John Marshall (rough draft).

(O.C. 3445.)

Cassumbuzar July the 13th 1670

To Mr Marshall

The 26 past month dispeeded away a Cossid to you with a bill of exchange for 600 rs. and Some letters from Mr. Vickers which I hope are Safely arrived with you.

I have desired Mr. Vincent to write to Mr Elwes to pay you a Small Summe (being the produce of 4 Sword blades sent thither), which, if you receive, I entreate you would doe me the favour to lay out in 2 or 3 halfe

(1) The Company's General Letter to Hugli dated Dec. 7, 1669. See *Letter Book*., vol. iv.

(2) The rebuilding of London after the great fire of 1666.

(3) See Letter XXXVII.

(4) There is no example in the *O. E. D.* of the use of "ladybird" for a lady's maid, which is apparently what is intended here. The usual meaning of the word in the seventeenth century was "sweetheart.'

peeces Baroch Stuffes(1) for breeches, and the rest (if any remaine) in 1 bottle of the best flower oyle(2) and Some Otter(3) and Chua(4).

Sir, I had not assumed the boldness to have given you this trouble, but that I am, by my good friend Mr White (from [whom](*) you will now receive a letter) encouraged and engaged to endeavour the Procury of a Correspondency with you, which I must confesse I Seeke very preposterously, in that it Should rather be my aime by [The letter breaks off here.]

[No endorsement.]

LETTER XLII.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough draft).

(O.C. 3448.)

Cassumbuzar July the 14th 1670

To Mr Vickers

My last to you was of the 11th Inst. Per *vid* Ballasore, whither thought you might have been gone. I hope it will come Safe to your hands, because therein desired you to Send a Copie of the Company's Generall to the bay, which possible, if Some of our malignants should See, they would make Some doe about, but you need not now trouble your selfe to Copie it, having received it Per last Cossid in your generall.

Yours of the 8th Inst. received the 12th at night, advising your receipt of mine of the 30th past month and 2 Currt. and your approbation of my disposall of your money which I am very glad of. Upon your advice that longees are not like to prove [? profitable] (*) Mr March intends to invest as little as may be in that Comodity, having for that purpose Sent for the weavers to [whom] (*) he gave out the money and forbid the making of any more then what is upon the loomes, intending the rest in Comoditys that may be of more likelihood to vend. I need not add any thing Concerning the disposall of thos goods in your hands, knowing your endeavours will not be wanting to doe what may be for the best. And as to the fashion and price of the Escritores I leave it [to] (*) you, nor did I entend to limit you by mentioning 20 rs., but only thereby in part to direct you in the goodnesse and prize.

(1) Broach is the usual European spelling of Bharoch, in Gujarāt, where the English established a factory in 1616 It was noted for its piecegoods. A caravan trade was carried on between Patna and the factories of Surat, Baroda, Broach, and Ahmadābād.

(2) Essential oils.

(3) Attar of roses.

(4) *Chawwa* (*chauwa, chowa, choa*), a fragrant ointment made up for four ingredients, either sandalwood, wood of aloes, saffron, and musk, or ambergris, saffron, musk, and the juice of the flowers of the Arabian or Night Jasmine (*Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*).

(*) These words are left out in the original. There are no blanks.

I received togither with yours a letter from Mr White, who; as you advise, hath lost his voyage and is put in to winter att Carwarr nigh Cochin, and I would desire you to enquire by what conveighance the letter came, and if may meete with the like to write to him, and whither there would be any Surety of any Small bandles reaching his hands or no.

The news of the Ship's arrivall we received here the 9th Inst. but I have not as [y]et received a letter. I have in my other writt to you concerning my letters to dispeed them forward, if no generall Cossid shall be sent presently after the receipt of them, and that what things I may have come over, you would take into your custody; but if I have nought but letters, I desire you would Secure me a good fashionable hatt and hatt band, the price leave to you, and any other things you thinke I may have occasion for.

The note of prizes of English goods here shall send you Per next, not having time now hardly to write this, which gives me occasion to make one request to you, that while the Ships are here you would hold me excused if I fayle of that punctuality in answering your letters as formerly, and I question not but I might have made the Same excuse for you which now I doe to you, who without doubt are more encombred with businesse then I now am. Therefore although I cannot receive any thing in this country more welcome then your letters, yet I would not that you Should bind your Selfe to a necessity of answering mine, but that you would let me hear from you as your best leisure will permitt, which indeed cannot be so often as acceptable.

The Slippers you write for Shall procure as Soone as possible, having for that end given out money to have them made (for without that here's hardly the worth of an anna to be bought of any thing), but in the interim have sent you 1 Pr. (which pray accept of). They were made for me, so possibly may be somewhat too little; the rest have bespoke as you ordered. I have not more then to desire to excuse this hast, So rest

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed] To Mr Vickers July 14th: 70.

LETTER XLIII.

Richard Edwards to William Bagnold (rough draft).

(O. C. 3449.)

Cassumbuzar July the 14th 1670

To Mr Bagnold

Yours of the 9th Currt. received the 12th at night, advising your receipt of mine Primo Inst. and your desire that by an entercourse of letters

a Correspondence and more familiar acquaintance may be advanced between us, wherein I unfeignedly concurr with you and Shall use my utmost endeavours to encrease it and render my Selfe worthy the good opinion you are pleased to have of me.

I heartily congratulate the advancement the Hon; Company have conferred on you, am only Sorry we Shall thereby lose your good company here in the bay; but I willingly preferr your Interest before my particular (1) content, and from my heart beg Almighty God that your Imployment may every way answer your desires and that you may therein enjoy all happynesse and prosperity. And let me intreat you that wherein I can Serve you, you would at any time freely use me, and that among the many friends you have meritoriously acquired you would vouchsafe a place to

Sir

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed] To Mr Bagnold July 14th; 70

LETTER XLIV.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3452.)

Hugly the 24th July 1670

Dear Freind

Yours of the 14th Instant Received the 17th do., but yours Per *Via* Ballasore is Not yet come to hand, though I once thought I might have been there before this, but now shall Not goe till the sloops (2) arrive, and Uncertaine whither then or not. However, if you thinke it Convenient (if any body g[oes d]owne before me) shall remit the girdle[s] etca. thither, which probably may find sale before I may goe there, which suppose will Not bee till the Companies goods goe Downe; if not, Per the Next Conveighance; but if they stay here, doe not question the Disposa[ll] of them, for 4 ships Comming Downe and but few goods to be bought at Ballasore, we shall be sure to have some of their Companies here.

(1) "Private" is written above "particular" in the original.

(2) At this period the captains of the Company's ships could not be induced to face the perils of navigating the Hugli river. Cargoes for Bengal were, therefore, transhipped at Balasor, and taken to Hugli by sloops commanded by the Company's pilots. In 1672 Capt. James, with the aid of a pilot, brought the *Rebecca* up to Hugli (*O. C.* 3671), but thence, until 1679, no other captain could be persuaded to follow his example. See Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, p. 166 *n.*, and Yule, *Diary of William* Hedges iii. 197 ff.

I have enquired the Conveighance Mr Whites letters Came by, which was a Dutch ship from Metchlepatam and A Cosset thither, but Cannot here of any Conveighance to send to him againe.

The hat and hatband You write for shall procure as soon as possi[ble] and what else you may want, and must [? now beg] the same excuse of you that you Make, for though I cann[ot] be soe much encumbred with business (where wee have somany assistants) as you are, Yet it sometimes may hapen [th]at I shall not have time to write, Seldome knowing of a Cossets going till the letters Come Downe to be transcribed, and of Necessity Now your business will be much greater, Mr Haselwood Departing this life the 20th present.

The Slipers you sent I retarne you Many thanks for, which are very fitt if about ⅛ of an inch longer, having little else to add save my humble service to Mr March and Mr Vincent, and to Subscribe My Self

Your Reall and affectionately Loving Friend

JNO. VICKERS

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassumbazar

LETTER XLV.

John Morshall to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3453.)

Johnabad(1) July le 27th 1670

Mr Richard Edwards

Esteemed friend

Yours of 20th June I answered 2d present, since which have received yours of 13th Ditto. Three of your Sword-blades are sold, for which I have received of Mr Elwes 15 Rups., and also the other sword blade, which when I come at Pattana I shall endeavour to sell for you, with the produce of which and the 15 Rups. I shall endeavour to comply with your desires.

I have received a Letter from my brother(2) White and shall be very glad to embrace a strict correspondency with you as I have with him, and to that end (as occasion offers) shall desire to trouble you with what concernes

(1) Jahānābād or Singhiya, near Patna.

(2) Probably only a term of friendship, as in the case of Vickers and Edwards.

or business I may have at Cassumbuzar, as I shall be ready and glad to serve you where I shall be. I shall not use any complements but do assure you

I am
Your reall friend to serve you
JOHN MARSHALL

[Endorsed] For M[r R]ichard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassumbuzar
these
[In Richard Edwards's writing]
from Mr Marshall 27th July 70

LETTER XLVI.

Robert Freeman to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3454.)

[Masulipatam, 29th July 1670]

Mr Richard Edwards
Sir

I have received your Severalls and have sent you those things you desire, that is to say, [one] peice of Chint(1) for a gowne, one patch(2) of Lunge[es], four pillow bares,(3) two of one sort and two of an other no[t] knowing what Sort you meant. If any of these two be the sort yo[u] want more, then advise mee, and you shall have them or any thing else by the first opertunity, The cost of these is as followeth, *Viz*.

for one peice of Chint	...	...	08
for one patch of Lungees	...	...	06
for four Pillow bares ...	...	...	04
		In all	18

Pray send my returnes in the things I formerly desired, that is to say, if to be gott, a boy, if not, then in a good peice of plaine silke. Committ the Care of what you send me by the third mate of the *Happy Entrance*, Mr Richard Dowing(4) by name. This shipp in Just now weighing Anchor. By

(1) Chintz (*chint*), printed cotton cloth.

(2) Mr. William Foster is of opinion that this term is equivalent to "piece," when applied to certain goods. See *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, i. 248, ii. 143

(3) An unusual spelling of "pillow-bere," "pillow-beer"=pillowcase. There is no example of this form of the word in the '*O. E. D.*'

(4) Probably "Downing." I have found no other reference to this individual.

the next shipp, the *Cost* Frigott (which) will be dispatcht within 3 or 4 day [*sic*] after her), shall w[rite at] large, in the mean time remaine in hast

Your Reall friend and Serva[nt]
ROBT. FREEMAN

[Metchl]epatam Road the 29th July 1670
[on] board the *Rainebow*
[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Bengallah

LETTER XLVII.

William Bagnold to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3455.)

Hugly July the 29th 1670.

Mr Richard Edwards
Esteemed Freind

Yours of the 14th Instant came to my receipt the 17th, for which doe returne you hearty thanks, and could gladly have wished you had had [an]other subje[ct] to have congratulated me with. I [am] indeed a litt[le tr]oubled that [? the Company] have conferrd such an Imployment uppon mee and in such a place that I have a perfect antipathy against. (1) Yet it cannot bee evaded; I must bee contented with my Lott and bid adiew to Bangall, havinge resolved within my selfe to looks homewards att the expiration of my Five yeares, (2) being alt[og]ether weary of this troublesome Country, in which [I c]an finde noe Felicity.

When I am fully resolved of the Chief's intentions to observe the Companys order as to the sending of mee upp, (3) I doe intend (God willing) to give you the trouble of procuring some small trivialls for mee, which I doubt not of your readyness to effect; and if I may bee any waies serviceable to you there duringe my stay, or att my removall up to Coast, (3) you may freely Command him who is Sir

Your reall freind and servant
WM. BAGNOLD

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
In Cassumbuzar

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(1) See the notice of Bagnold, Letter XXXIV.

(2) Bagnold had covenanted with the Company to serve as factor for five years. His time was up in October, 1672.

(3) Since Fort St. George was, at this period, the chief factory on the eastern coast of India, the Company's servants spoke of going "up" to the Fort or Coast, *i.e.*, Madras.

LETTER XLVIII.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3456.)

Hugly the 29 July 1670.

Dear Friend

My last to you was the 24th present Per Haselwoods servants, which hope is Come safe to hand. Just now I received yours of the 11th ditto Per *via* Ballasore, which requires little of Answer more then what in my last incerted, A Copie of the Generall being sent to Mr March, to whom pray present my humble service, and by the way, if you think it Convenient, you may assur[e] him how ready I am at all times to obey his Command[s] in any he will be pleased to honour me with them.

Wee expect the Sloopes Dayly from Ballasore and then shall be able to write you Newes, having little now and less time to enlarge further then to subscribe my self

Your Reall and affectionately Loving Friend

JNO. VICKERS

Mr C[lav]e[ll] g[one to] Ballasore is Married. (1) My humble service to Mr Vincent.

Idem J: V:

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Marchant
In Cassumbazar

LETTER XLIX.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough draft).

(O.C. 3458.)

Cassumbuzar August 2d 1670

To Mr Vickers

Yours of the 29th past month come to hand yesterday wherein you advise the receipt of mine of the 11th past month, of which I am very glad. Yours Per Mr Haselwood's Servants is not yet arrived, So that have little materiall, Save herewith to Send you a note of the prizes of goods here, which Should before this haye dispeeded to you, but have been So plagu'd with biles and blaines (2) that I was hardly able to hold a pen, or continue in any

(1) See Letter XXXVII. This remark seems to show that Prudence Holworthy made her way as quickly as possible to Bengal, where her affianced husband awaited her arrival.

(2) The '*O.E.D.*' defines "boil" as "a hard inflamed suppurating tumour," and "blain" as an inflammatory swelling The latter term seems to have been used for what is called, in some places, a "blind" boil.

other posture then lying on my back, and have, I believe, 30 or 40 upon me at this time, So that I cannot but againe rende[r] you thanks for your plaister (1) which hath stood my friend So much.

The prizes of goods here are Somewhat low, except the Tinne, which is very high. I have Sent you Per bearer 2 pr: Slippers Cost lr: I fear they may be Somewhat too bigg. If so, you may dispose of them to any friend; the rest Shall order to be made lesse.

Excu[se] me to Mr Bagnold for not writing.

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed] To Mr Vickers
Augt. 2d: 1670

LETTER L.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3459.)

Hugly the 13th August 1670

Dear friend

Yours of the 2d Current Received the 5th do; and am sorry to hea[r] (2) are soe troubled with boiles, which may occasion your wanting more plaister, Wherefore have given the pe[on] a little ps. in paper, two thirds of my remaines.

I returne you many thanks for the enclosed not[e of] prices, and likewise for your procuring the Slippers [which] I have given you Credit for, they being very well f[or] length but a great Deall to big.

Mr Nurse desires you to procure him tw[o prs.] of Cot strings (3) of the same fasshion those you sent me. Per the N[ex]t Conveigh[ance] shall [write] you more at la[rge], having little newes at present and much writing. My humble Service to Mr March and Mr Vincen[t], my most Candid love to your Self and respects to Mr Pea[cock] Conclude and Remaine

Your Reall and affectionate Loving Friend

JNO. VICKERS

[Endorsed] from Mr Vickers 13th Augt. 70.

LETTER LI.

Valentine Nurse to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3460.)

[Valentine Nurse appears to have made his first voyage to India in 1655, and to have served the Company for eleven years at Surat before

(1) See Letter, XVIII.

(2) "You" is omitted.

(3) There seems to be some looseness in the use of the term "cot strings." In Letter XXVI, it indicates the webbing *(niwar)* which formed the seat of the bedstead, while here it is obviously used for strings to tie back mosquito curtains.

proceeding to the Coromandel Coast in 1668. In March, 1658, he was appointed fourth of the factory at Ahmadábád, in Gujarát, at a salary of 20*l.* per annum. Five years later, in April, 1663, he was sent in the *Vine*, with Nathaniel Scrivener, on a trading voyage from Surat te Achin, in Sumatra. In 1666 his name appears as one of the Company's servants at Surat, but "not of Council." He seems to have returned to England towards the end of 1666, for in April, 1667, the Court of Committees ordered his account to be "examined and allowed." In November of the same year he was elected factor for the "Coast and Bay," at a salary of 30*l.* per annum, his securities being "Richard Nurse of Cambridge, gent., and William Nurse of the Inner Temple, gent." He sailed to Masulipatam in the *Unicorn*, one of the fleet of ships which took out Edwards, Smith, Vickers, etc.

In accordance with the orders of the Court, contained in the letters of December, 1669, Nurse was sent to Patna towards the end of 1670, and was there in the following year, when (as John Marshall notes in his *Observations*), on Aug. 9, he counted one hundred and fifty-two "dead Corps," victims of famine, "in the Gaut [*ghát*, landing-place] by our Factory." In their letter of Dec. 18, 1671, however, the Court acknowledged themselves to have "bin mistaken in the preferment of Mr. Nurse," and left it to the discretion of the Bengal Council "to dispose of him as his sobriety and good carriage shall merritt." Before the arrival of these directions Nurse had been recalled from Patna and appointed third at Hugli, where his "disorderly courses" rendered him unpopular with the authorities. On June 19, 1672, when at Balasor, he had a violent quarrel with Joseph Hall, another unruly factor. Hall alleged that Nurse threatened his life and made a personal attack on him, whereupon he, as acting Chief in Clavell's absence, turned him out of the factory. Nurse's story was that, the Council having appointed him to keep the "Dyary of all transactions of buying and selling," he demanded of Hall "an exact insight into the Company's affayres." He was denied access to the books with "many scullilous [*sic*] provocations," and was then, by Hall's orders, seized by peons, while "reading upon a cott, and conveighed," bound, out of the factory "all bloody."

Nurse wrote a long representation of his case to the Company. In this address he accused his fellow factors of cheating their employers, was especially bitter against Walter Clavell, and declared that "Malice and uncharitablenesse was an Epidemicall disease here in

the Bay of Bengallah." For four years, pending orders from England, he received allowances for board and lodging, but was not "admitted to act in the Company's business." In Fedruary, 1676, Major William Puckle, sent out by the Company to inspect and regulate their subordinate factories, was furnished with papers in order to inquire into the charges of drunkenness brought against Nurse and also into the rights of his quarrel with Hall. Puckle's finding is not recorded, but as Nurse was not reinstated, the Bengal Council's decision against him seems to have been confirmed. In December, 1676, the Court returned his complaint for examination, and in the following year they wrote that the allowance granted him was "extravagant," that if "reclaimed" he was to be readmitted into the service at a reduced salary, but "if he continue disorderly let him be sent home." When this letter arrived, Nurse was at Fort St. George, whither he had gone to petition the Council against the treatment he had received in Bengal. In July, 1679, he was allowed to return to Bengal to recover debts due to him, on condition that he came back to Madras in time to sail for England in the following year. In January, 1680, he was reported to be "in a poor condition, but not now at the Company's charge." He died at Balasor in the same year, shortly after the arrival of the ships bringing the Court's definite orders for his dismissal. An "outcry" of Nurse's effects was held at Balasor on Dec. 4, 1680, and administration of his property was granted to his brother William on Oct. 19, 1685. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv, p. 44, vol. xxv, pp. 147, 149, vol. xxvi, pp. 45, 62, 67, 83, 87, 287; *Letter Book*, vol. iv, pp. 37, 306, 348, 495, vol. v, pp. 5, 25. 391, 520; *O.C.* Nos. 3159, 3171, 3710, 3765, 4142, 4178; *Factory Records*, Fort St. George, vols. i, xvi, xviii, xxviii, Hugli, v, Balasor, i, Miscellaneous, iii and iiia; *P. C. C. Admons.*]

Hughly the 14th August: 70

Mr Richard Edwards

I make the lesse doubt you will pardon my boldnesse in this addresse, well knowing you are at this time well Employed in the Companys affaires.

It has pleased God to take Thomas Haslewood out of this world, who was pleased when liveing to doe severall Small kindnesses for us at C[a]ssumbazar; therefore I shall desire one kindnesse, that you would cause to bee made 12 yeards of Small Fringe, red and white mixed, for a Small quilt, with 4 Small tassels to bee put on at the corners; also a large tassel for a pallankeen within (1) Let them pray bee made well and quickly, and sent

(1) A tassel to be used as a fly-whisk for the inside of the palanquin.

hither with the Accot. of their cost Etca. and I wfll pay it to any you shall assigne, to Mr Vickers, or send it to you by any of your house peons you shall allot.

I am makeing a progresse to Pattanah,(1) where I am in hopes to touch at your residence. Sir, you may when I(2) arrived at Pattanah Command me in any thing that is to bee had there. You shall ffnde mee very ready to doe it. No news at present but that I am in hast.

Your ready reall Friend to serve you

VAL. NURSE

commend mee to all with you pallankeen ke pundenah (3)

[Endorsed] from Mr Nurss 14th Augs[t 70].

LETTER LII.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough draft).

(O.C. 3461.)

Cassumbuzar August the 18th 1670

To Mr Vickers

My last to you was of the 2d Inst: Since have received yours of the 24th past month Per Mr Haselwood's Servants and of the 13th Current, which last came yesterday to my hand. I am Sorry to find you in doubt whither you Shall goe to Ballasore or no till the Company's goods goe downe, where being in Person you might possibly dispose of those goods to a better account then if you should Send either by or to another to Sell for you, which yet Mr March thinkes it is better to doe (if you have any acquaintance that Small goe down on the Sloopes or is there) then to lose the advantage of the first markett; however, leaves it to you to doe therein what you Shall find most convenient.

I wish the Conveighance that brought Mr White's letter had returned or that any other Presented, which if by any meanes you Shall hear of, pray advise me.

I give you many thankes of your Promise to Procure me a hat and hatband, and pray if you Shall meete with either or both the Escritores I formerly writt to you about, doe me the favour to Send them up Per first conveighance. Who will have most writing I cannot positively conclude, though I adhere to my former judgment; yet this I believe I may certainly

(1) By the Court's General Letter to Hugli of Dec. 7, 1669, Nurse was appointed Second at Patna (*Letter Book*, vol. iv, p. 306).

(2) "Am" appears to be omitted.

(3) The writer seems to be giving Edwards a hint in the vernacular of what he wanted, *i.e.*, *palki ka phundna*=a tassel of a palanquin.

affirm, that both of us will have our hands full, and I am extream Sorry mine is augmented by So Sad an accident as the death of Mr Haselwood, whom it hath pleased God to take away in the flower of his age and rise of his fortunes. Almighty God prepare us all to follow the Same way, for he only knows whose turne is next

I returne you many thankes for the peice of plaister you Sent me Per last, and indeed it came in good time to Succeed the former, which hath done me extreame good Service in drawing and quickly healing my unwell-come familiars, and though truly I ought to crave Your Pardon for having deprived you of So much of your plaister, yet I had rather wave it by telling you I hope you have more then you Shall ever use.

In your last you advise your receipt of the 2 pr Slippers, and that they prove much too bigg, which I was afraid of; I hoped to have had 2 pr more to have sent you Per this Cossid, but the peon that went to muxudavad(1) where they are made forgot to order the fellow to make them lesse, So that he has [bro]ught me 2 pr: of the Same bignesse as those Sent you, but I have now given him a measure, and believe may have Some ready against next conveighance and Shall not fayle to send them.

The Cott Strings for Mr nurse have this morning bespoke, and the fellow Promises to get them ready in 10 days time. You mention nothing as to their colours So have ordered him to make 1 pr: red and 1 pr: Skie colour.

I omitted to write per last Cossid by reason of the many biles that then tormented me. By the Same conveighance there went one to you from Mr Marshall.

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed] To Mr Vickers Augst. 18th: 1670.

LETTER LIII.

John Smith to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3463.)

Decca August 23d 1670

Mr Richard Edwards

Esteem'd freind. Yours by Merchants Cosset(2) received longe since and should have answer'd it more Speedily had an opportunity presented. I humbly thank You for Your news and for your kind offer of an English Lady. My confidence in you is great, Yet not soe as I can trust You to chuse a wife for mee when You are unprovided Your Selfe, which want pray first Supply, and if there's none left for mee I'm content to Stay till another Spring. By

(1) Muxudavad, for Maksudabad, an early name for Murshidabad.

(2) This letter is missing.

next conveighance shall send Your Addaties(1) and flower'd Jelolsies, which is all at present save the Kind Respects of

Your very Loving freind
JOHN SMITH

'Mr Jones presents his kind Respects to you etca.

J: S:

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant In Cassumbuzar

LETTER LIV.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3488.)

Hugly the [? August 1670] (2)

Dear Friend

Yours of the 18th received the 23d do: advising the Receipt of mine of the 13th present, Since which the *Dilligence* is arrived and within 4 or 5 dayes will be Dispatcht for Ballasore road againe.

For the same Reasons you mention (3) did Intend [to send] the goodes down Per the *Madrass* Pinnace, having for that [? end] Imbaled them, though had not Mr March and y[our] order for it, being very Deep laden, was un[able] to send them, the winds at this time of the year Genera[lly] blowing hard and she not able to indure bad weather [which] they must except to meet with, soe Intend to put them aboard the *Dilligence;* and for any thing that I have yet, Consigne them to Mr Mathew Mainwaring (4) ([?] them of their Prime Cost) and am very Confident [his] Endeavours to Dispose of them to as great advantage as may be will not be wanting, Though should have been very glad to have accompanied them my self, but think it Cannot be this time.

If any opportunity presents of send[ing to] Mr White you may rest Confident Shall be mindfull to send you word.

The enclosed letter from Mr Freman Received [the] 18th Currt. enclosed in one to Mr Bagnold, which [? opened], supposing those things you

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(1) See Letter XXXIII.

(2) This document has been placed in the Records amongst those for October, 1670, but it clearly belongs to August, since it refers to the writer's letter of the 13th and to Edwards's of the 18th (Letters L and LII). Further, in Edwards's notes of Sept. 12 (Letter LVII) there are comments on the contents of this communication.

(3) See Letter LII.

(4) Matthew Mainwaring came to Bengal with his wife Ann in 1669, and was employed at Balasor. He did not take up his appointment at Masulipatam, as noted in Letter XXXVII., until the following year.

writ for might [be in it], it accordingly falling out soe. But he mentio[ns] Nothing where the things are, only writes in Mr Bagnolds letter, Enclosed I send you a letter for Mr Edwards with a Small Bundle which suppose is enclose[d] in his; he having writt to Ballasore for it shall when it arrives send it Per first oppertunity.

In one of the Dingees (1) Where the Companies Silver is, have sent one escritore which pray accept of; the small one etca. Shall procure as soon as possible.

Mr Clavell at his arrivall brought severall Europe letters but can meet with none Directed to you. In a letter I Received from my Mother She writes to know how you doe and where you are settled that she may satisfy A friend of yours of Putny that comes very often to hear of you, knowing wee came out together, Soe Per the Next shall satisfy her and could heartily wish I knew which way to Bring it soe about that our Relations in England might come Acquainted. (2) Have little more to add save my humble Service to Mr March and Mr Vincent and Respects to Mr Peacock Subscribing My self.

Your Reall and affectionately Loving Friend

JNO. VICKERS

Mr Bagnold desires to be Kindly [remem]berd to you and promises a letter Per [? next]. The escretore is Delivered to one of [? the pe]ons who promises to keep it Drie. If [you] think he may Deserve it I promise him 2 or 3 anaes buxes. (3)

[Id]em J. V.

[No endorsement.]

LETTER LV.

Richard Edwards to Valentine Nurse (rough draft.)

(O. C. 3464.)

Cassumbuzar August the ult: 1670

To Mr Nurse

Yours of the 14th Current received the 18 do: Some few gurrys (4) after the dispatch of a Cossid to your parts, by which I advised Mr Vickers that I had bespoke the 2 pair Cottstrings he writt you ordered me to provide. The things you write for have also given order for, and hope Shall have ready to send you Per next conveighance.

(1) Native rowing boats. See Letter XVIII.

(2) This statement disposes of my surmise (see note to Letter XIV) that the Edwardses and Vickerses were acquainted before 1668.

(3) *Bakhshish*, gratuity, tip: 3½*d.* to 5*d.*

(4) See Letter XX.

Sir, I give you many thankes that you will please to use me In any thing here, wherein you Shall find me no whitt lesse willing, though far lesse able, by reason of my Small experience, to Serve you or any friend, then was Mr Haselwood whom, [as y]ou advise, it hath pleased God to take out of the world. I have not more at Present to trouble you with, So Subscribe

Sir, your humble Servant

R. E.

pray Present my Service to all friends with you.

[Endorsed] To Mr Nurse Ult. Augst. 7[0]

LETTER LVI.

Richard Edwards to William Bagnold (rough draft.)

(O. C. 3465.)

Cassumbuzar August the ult. 1670

To Mr Bagnold

Yours of the 29 past month long Since received and have desired Mr Vickers to tell you the reason and begg my pardon for not answering, which I hope you granted.

The congratulations of my former, as they proceeded of good will, So were out of a beleife of your esteeme of the advancement that our Honoble: masters have favour'd you with, as that which might give you occasion to better your Selfe, which I beleive you have not yet much done (as well as other) though you have 2 years inhabited the Honoble: Companys golden Indies; also I knew not then that you bare So great a dislike to Fort St. George, which Since you professe to have so perfect an Antipathy against, I wish our Cheife &ca. may, according to your desire, confirme your Stay here, of which I shall be heartily glad; but if you Shall be ordered for the forte and Shall (as you mention) please to make use of me for the providing Some trivialls for you, I must desire you to give me advice thereof as Soone as you can, here being nothing to be bought ready made, but must of necessity bespeake and Stay the finishing of, So that if you should omitt to write till you are ready to depart, I may haply (when want of time will be only in the fault) undergoe the censure to have proffered a fained friendshipp, a thing I from my heart abhorr, and also lose a good opportunity to testifye how truly I am

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed] To Mr Bagnold ult: Aug: 70.

LETTER LVII.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough notes.)

(O. C. 3466.)

Cassumbuzar Ult August 1670

To Mr Vickers

desiring him to Procure for me of neelcund (1) Some remedy for ringwormes.

and to buy me quills, paper, knives or penknives &ca. Small things

and to Send up advice what goods are most requirable, and to Send downe the goods to Ballasore, and to write how Mr Bullyvant does.

sent also 4 Pr Slippers.

12 September

thanking him for the escritore.

advising that Mr March will let him have his money in what goods he desires.

and that I send him 6 breeches Strings for himself, 4 to lay by of No. 2 and 3 for Mr Freeman, and 2 ditto No. 2 to give to Mr Bagnold, and 8 do. No. 1, 22 No. 2, 10 do. No. 3 to Sell, and I hammock for Mr Nurse, I pullankeen tassell, 24 covets (2) fringe and 4 Small tassells, 2 pr Cott Strings: their value according to the enclosed note.

that Shall write to Mr Freeman Per next.

sent also 1 ps white taffatie.

[Marginal note] the breeches Strings for Mr Bagnold and Freeman to be taken out of those underwritten.

[Enclosed] to Mr Vickers ult. August. 70 and 12th September.

LETTER LVIII.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3473.)

Hugly the 10th September 1670

Dear Friend

My last to you was the Ultimo past. (3) Since which the 3d present Received Yours of the Same Date; the Goodes as I then advised] are gon upon the *Dilligence* Consighned to Mr Mat[thew] Mainwaring, But for the thing Mr Freman sen[t], hear Nothing of them yet, Mr Bagnold Not receiving any Answer to his letters Sent to Ballasore.

(1) See Letter XXXVIII.

(2) Covad, also covid, coved, covet, a measure (from Port. *covado*, a cubit or ell) varying, in different localities, from 18 in. to 33 in. Since Nurse's order was for 12 yards of fringe (see Letter LI) the covad of 18 in. is probably intended.

(3) This letter has not been traced.

I am Sorry to hear you are Soe troubled with [ring]-warms, and having got something of Nilcund propper for them, Being very sencible how welcome a Cure (as I hope this will prove) is to the Diseased, I have sent this Cosset on purpose with it, which though I had not your order for, yet I hope I have not Contraried your expectation, his [hi]re being [?] r[up]ees. Enclosed have Sent a Direction how to take it, and Per the Next Conveighance Shall remit you purges which Nilcund saes will be very Convenient after the taking this, he promising to get them ready in five dayes more.

The Measure of the hat have lost. Per the next pray Send Another, And when I goe to Ballasore shall provide sufficient of knives, Combs, etca for your and my Self.

The lime Water is Making but am unfurni[shed] of a quarter Cask, but have got a mum(1) Cask which I intend to fill with lime juice, which will produce about A quarter Cask of Good clear water. If Mr March has any Cask, pray advise him, if he be not come away, that I know Not where to procure any here.

What goodes are Most Requirable at Ballasore as ye[t] I know Not, having had little Correspondence with any there, Soe Cannot Advise.

The 4 Pr of slipers I Received, being Very fit, and have given you Credit for them, and Returne you many thanks for your trouble in their procury.

My Bullivant hath been extraordinary ill and as mad as a man Could well bee, it being as much as 4 or 5 of us could doe to hold him, tearing all the clothes of his own and our Backs, and at last was forced to Chaine him by the leg in his Chamber. At present he has pretty well recov[red] his senses, but is in a pittifull Condition, being soe Sore all over his body with a kind of Boyles that he is scarce able to goe. I suppose the Chief Cause of his Madness proceeded f[rom] Mellancholly, having instead of encouragem[en]t Received [a] Check fro[m] his Relations [in] England, being augmented by Damage from a wo[man I] believe, which is evident enough, but had rather Smot[her] than Divulge any Such thing publiquely.

Yesterday Received yours of the 5th,(2) and have Per this Conveighance Sent the key of the escritore which was forgot, and should have Writt to Mr March, but suppose(3) be Coming Downe by this time. Haveing little more to add, Save with the tender of my Kind Love to your Self, wishing your health and as much happiness as my Self,

I Conclude and Remaine

Your Reall and affectionately Loving Friend

JNO: VICKERS

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant

In Cassumbazar

(1) Beer made from malt of wheat. (2) This letter has not been traced. (3) ? He will.

LETTER LIX.

William Bagnold to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3474.)

Hugly September the 10th 1670.

Mr Richard Edwards

And Respected freind, yours of the last past month came to my receipt the 2d present. By Mr Vickers doe understand the reason of your being Soe long Silent, in which you did not much frustrate my expectations, being mine required noe speedy answere, though it is my desire as often as convenience will permitt to read a few lin[es f]rom those that I esteem my reall freinds.

For your readiness and willingness to comply with my desires (if I am ordered for the Fort) doe returne you hearty thanks, but being yett att an uncertainty, I cannot resolve uppon any thinge. If my stay dee ordered here, I shall have noe occasion to trouble you. Mr March and Mr Vincent are expected here in few daies, uppon whose arrivall it will bee presently after determined; and if then it cannot with convenience bee effected, doe assure you shall not attribute it to any fault in your selfe, being assured that you are none of the cast(1) that pretend kindness to Persons when you doe not really intend to Performe them. Bee pleased to accept of these few lines for the present from him who is allwaies ready to study how he may approve himselfe to bee Sir

Your reall and assured freind to serve you

WM: BAGNOLD

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
merchant
In Cassumbuzar

LETTER LX.

Richard Edwards and factors at Kasimbazar to Job Charnock at Patna (rough draft).

(O.C. 3475.)

[Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, was the younger son of Richard Charnock, yeoman, of the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch, London. He arrived in India in 1655 or 1656, and shortly afterwards entered the Company's service. At a Court of Committees held on 12-13,

(1) An interesting early anglicizing of the term "caste" to mean kind, sort.

Jan. 1658 (*Court Minutes*, vol. xxiv, p. 51), he was appointed Fourth at Kāsimbāzār, but it is doubtful if he ever held that post. In August, 1658, Thomas Bateman, writing from Balasor (*O.C.* 2663), remarks, "Poore Job begins to droope and sympathize with Ions [*i.e.*, Ion Ken's] sickness"; and on Feb. 1, 1659, Charnock is reported to be "going to" Patna, and there he remained until 1680, becoming Chief of that factory in 1664. In 1663 and again in 1670 and 1672 (*Factory Records*, Hugli vols. i and iv, and Miscellaneous, iii) he expressed his intention of returning to England, but was each time dissuaded. In 1680 he was appointed Chief at Kāsimbāzār; and in 1686 he succeeded John Beard as Agent in Bengal. Troublous times for the English followed. Hostilities with the Mughal Government resulted in the withdrawal of the Company's servants to Chuttanuttee (Sūtanatī), where Charnock entered into negotiations with the Nawāb and began the foundation of the settlement known later as Fort William, Calcutta. He died there on Jan. 10, 1693. His will, dated the day before his death, and proved on the 12th June, 1695 (*P.C.C. Wills*, 91 Irby), mentions his three daughters by his Indian wife. Among the legacies is one to the poor of "Cree Church, London," where his father was buried in 1665. His elder brother Stephen probably predeceased him (*P.C.C. Wills* 58 Hyde). For printed notices of Charnock, see the article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii, pp. 45-100; C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, vol. i. pp. 71-127, 140-43. These accounts, however, give no details of Job Charnock's ancestry. For a narrative of all the facts recently discovered, with copies of the wills of Richard and Job Charnock, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLVI, pp. 256-260.]

Cassumbuzar September 13th 1670.

[This is an official letter dealing with remittances for Patna factory sent per bills of exchange by two "cossids," one bill for 10,000 rupees paid to "Bunwolledas and Boadg-raudg" (Banwālī Dās and Bhoj Rāj), payable by "Aggermull and Sutanund" (Agar Mal and Satānand); one for 2,000 rupees paid to "Ugersine and Inderam" (Ugra Sēn and Indrarām), payable by "Gocaldas Bawsing" (Gokal Dās Bhāi Singh); one for 1,000 rupees paid to "Sucanund and Gosseram" (Sukhānand and Ghos Rām), payable by "Chandra-ban and Roopchund" (Chandra Ban and Rūpchand). The names of the merchants are noted, as some of them are referred to in Job Charnock's reply, Letter LXVII.]

LETTER LXI.

Richard Edwards to John March (rough draft).

(O.C. 3477.)

Cassumbuzar September 17th 1670

To Mr March

Having this oportunity Per a Cossid sent hither by Mr Vickers which I could not omitt by his returne to advise you that the next day after your leaving this place, according to your order, I dispeeded away 3 bills for Pat[tana] to the amount of 13,000 rs. charged *vist*.(1)

The 14th Currt. Sent away the 7 barrs Silver. to Rajamaul(2) in charge of Seek Gurreeb Pune(3) with order to lodge it in the factory and when tis made into Sicca's (4) to returne it hither, which I did more Strictly injoine by reason of the many (I can't till whither necessary) cautions Sittull-mull(5) gave me of that merchant,(6) and caused some trouble and Jangling at their Sending it away. I received little or no instructions from you about it at your departure, have therefore disposed of it the safest way and I hope best; desire you would please Per first opportunity to advise whither I Shall deliver Sittall mulls part at it's returne from the mint or keepe them both till news of the bill's payment, or rather your returne which I hope will be the Sooner of two [*sic*].

I detained the Cossid Something the longer that if possible I might have Sent you news of the Petre-boates, (7) but not heating a word of them thought better to dispeed him, and having no more then my best wishes for your health, prosperity and quick returne, I conclude

Subscribing

[No signature.]

about his buttons or to buy 5 or 6 ps: english gold.

[Endorsed] To Mr March Sept: 17th70

LETTER LXII.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough draft).

(O.C. 3478.)

Cassumbuzar September 17th 1670

To Mr Vickers

my last to you was Per Mr March which togither with the Small fardle (8) Per one of the Punes hope you have ere this received. Yours Per expresse

(1) No details given.

(2) Rajmahal, where English bar silver was coined in the Mughal mint.

(3) Shekh Gharib, peon.

(4) *Sikka*, newly coined rupees, worth at this period 2*s*. 3*d*.

(5) Sital Mal.

(6) The merchant at Rajmahal to whom the silver was consigned.

(7) Boats laden with saltpetre, from Patna. (8) Bundle.

10th Currt: came to hand the 15 do: with the key of the escritore and papers of pills for my ringwormes, for your kind care in the Speedy Sending of which I give you many thanks and desire you would place the hire to my account. I hope they will prove successfull in the cure.

I am very glad the goods are Sent downe to Ballasore consign'd to Mr Mainwaring, hoping he will find a speedy vend for them. The things from Mr Freeman I question not but you will Send Per the next opportunity after their arrivall with you; Sooner you cannot.

I herewith Send you the measure of my noddle and desire the hat you procure may be good and fashionable, as also the band, which if you meete not with ready made among Mr. Foley's frippery (1) entreate you would get me so much scarlett or other light coloured ribon and fancie as Shall Suffice. I thank you for your promise to buy as many knives, combs, &ca. as may Serve both our occasions.

Mr March being now with you, will I suppose Provide a Caske or Jarr for the Lime-water which I am glad to hear you are So forward with.

I am extream Sorry to hear Mr Bullyvant is in So Sad a Condition, and that his distemper proceedes of a double cause, either of which were enough to put any body in the like, but hope by gods blessing and the care and Skill of those with you he may in a Short time recover his health.

I am more beholding to the friend your mother writes of (who is the waterman's wife that nurs't one of your brothers) then to all my relations who have not writ me a word Per this Shipping, nor ever So much as enquired (as I can hear of) whither I am living or dead; therefore pray, when you write to your mother, present my humble Service to her and desire She would remember me kindly to her; and if you will advise me when you write home, I Shall Send her Some Small token which I must get you to entreate your mother to deliver; and whereas you expresse a desire that our Relations at home may be acquainted (wherein I equally concur with you) I thinke no way better then by enclosing letters each in other's pacquets, which if you approve of, I shall in yours Send one for my brother to be kept at your house in fullam till he calls for it, which by Some other Shall advise him to doe; and you may doe the like in mine, and it Shall be kept in london or kingstone which you like best. (2)

(1) Foley seems to have been in the Company's service and to have died in 1670, since some of his "frippery" had reached Bengal, but I have found neither his appointment nor his Christian name. He appears to have served at Fort St. George, for in July, 1670 (*O.C.* 3450), he denied tatu prohibited goods were bought of him at that place, and in the Court's letter of Dec. 18, 1671, to the Fort (*Letter Book*, vol. iv, p. 511) there is an allusion to "Mr. Fooleys" charge and "falce suggestion" against Matthew Mainwaring.

(2) Edwards's elder brother Thomas, of the Inner Temple, resided at Kingston, and the Vickers family lived at Fulham. See the notices of R. Edwards and J. Vickers.

I desire you would deliver the accompanying letters, and present my humble Service to Mr March and Mr Vincent, and my respects to Mr Bagnold and Mr Nurse &ca. [Unisgned]

[Endorsed] To Mr Vickers Sept: 17th 1670

LETTER LXIII.

John March to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3481.)

Cassumbuzar (1) Le 20th. September 16[70]

(Mr) Richard Edwards

Respected Friend

On Wednesday morning, praised be God, we arrived here; and yesterday in the afternoone received yours of the 17th Curtt., per Mr Vickers's Cossid, wherein find you had sent forwards to Pattana Per bills of Exchange to the amount of 13000 rs. as I desired. The Baars Perceave likewise the Merchants sent away for Rajemaul the 14th Currt., and that they went in Gurreebs Charge as I left ord[er] about it with Sittullmull and Collo Cawn,(2) and agreed with the Merchant [t]hat the siccaes should be returned in Charge of my Servant and kept in our Factory till we had advice from our friends in Pattana either of the acceptance or payment of the Bill, which might have cleer'd all trouble and jangling on that score. I suppose before they will be coyn'd into Siccaes and return'd for Cassambazar, I shall be arrived with you, intending, God willing, to leave this place and Proceed towards You on Thursday Evening, and have this day sent forwards our Budgra(3) to stay for us about 2 dayes journey from hence, and then at my arrivall with her on the Company's boate here to proceed on her for Pallassy, (4) where hope to arrive on Sunday [next t]herefore intreate you on satturday to send away a Pa[llanke]en with 8 Cahors(5) for Mr Vincent, to await our arrivall thern, inord[ing] two horses to stay for us at Burwa-Surray.(6) Let them pu[t my] Sadle and furniture on tbe Bay horse (if well) and Mr Vincen[ts on] the Turky or white horse and speake to Collow Cawne t[o? hir]e and [? send] 5 or 6 Pions with them and the Pallankeen, if my Punes be

(1) A mistake for Hugli, whither the writer had gone from Kasimbazar.

(2) Kalu Khan.

(3) Travelling boat. See Letter X.

(4) Plassey (Palasi), about 20 miles south of Kāsimbāzār, on the left bank of the Bhāgirathi, the scene of Clive's victory in 1757.

(5) *Kahar*, palanquin-bearer.

(6) Barwa Sarāi, the "Barrua" of Rennell's 'Atlas of Bengal.' It is on the road from Hugli to Kāsimbāzār, some ten miles north of Plassey.

[not return]ed from [* * *]. The [* * *](1) have now a Correspondency here, and we are now goeing to give them a Visit, soe shall not inlarge at Present, referring all buissness till our meeting, and now Conclude with the subscription of

Your Faithfull friend to serve you
JNO: MARCH

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant
Present In Cassumbuzar

LETTER LXIV.

Ralph Harwar to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3483.)

[Ralph Harwar was "shipt Chirurgion in the *Dilligence* at 50*s.* per month" on Feb. 8, 1668, and thus sailed to India with the *Blackamore*, which took out Richard Edwards and John Smith. On his arrival at Balasor, "the Chyrurgeon" was "taken on shore to officiate in the factory." In June and August of 1669 he is mentioned as siding with the followers of Shem Bridges against William Blake and his adherents. In 1671, according to a letter of Valentine Nurse to the Company, Harwar "strucke himself out of your service, and went a tradeing voyadge up the Coast in a small barke, but perceiving he could not thrive that way, put in his petition to Mr Clavel etca. and was presently Entertained in your Service againe," *i.e.*, at the end of the year 1672. On the 15th Dec. 1676, Harwar desired permission to return to England, and was allowed to exchange posts with Robert Douglas, surgeon of the *Eagle*.

Harwar probably reached England in the summer of 1677, but no further trace has been found of him until Jan., 1680, when he made a will, styling himself a surgeon of London, "bound out with Captain Samuel Chamblett for Chormandell and Bay of Bengall." Whether he intended to make the voyage as ship's surgeon does not appear, but for some reason he changed his plans and did not go to Madras in the *Sampson* with Capt. Chamblet. On the 8th Feb. 1682, he was re-entertained in the Company's service "to go Chyrurgeon to the Bay of Bengal at the wages of 50*s.* per mensem,

(1) The initial letter, which is all that is left of this word, is D, and the word is probably Danes. The Danes at this period made an ineffectual attempt to establish themselves in Bengal. See Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, pp. 184-90.

and to have his diet at the Company[s] charge." He was permitted to take his wife with him, "he paying the charge for her transportation." The couple probably sailed in the *Society*, the last ship of the season, which was sent direct to Bengal. When the Council of Hūglī heard of Harwar's impending return, they begged that "another" might be sent, "hee being little skill'd and of so ill a disposition every one is prejudiced against him." Harwar, nevertheless, took up his appointment, and except for a short visit to Madras and Masulipatam in 1684, he seems to have remained in Bengal until his death. He died, or was killed, at Hijilī, an island in the western channel of the Hūglī during the "war with the Mogull" in 1687.

In his will he mentions his "father-in-law" (? stepfather) Samuel Harwar and "his wife my mother." Ralph's mother must therefore have married two men of the name of Harwar. An uncle, Ralph Harwar, is also mentioned. Administration of the testator's effects was granted to his brother-in-law Thomas Hardwick on Oct. 22, 1688. The will of a Samuel Harwar, citizen and grocer of London, was proved in the *P.C.C.* on the 10th Mar. 1690, but there is nothing in the document to show if this man were the "father-in-law" of Ralph Harwar. A legacy in the latter's will to the poor of Enfield points to his having some connexion with that parish. See *Marine Records*, Miscellaneous, vol. xiii; *O.C.* Nos. 3296, 3323, 3344, 3710; *Factory Records*, Miscellaneous, iiia., Masulipatam vol. iv, Fort St. George, vol. xxx; *Court Minutes*, vol. xxxii. pp. 190, 193; *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple; D. G. Crawford, *History of the Indian Medical Service*; *P.C.C. Wills*, 136 Exton, 44 Dyke.]

Huglie the 22th Septembri 1670

Mr Richard Edwards

B[ei]ng verry desirous to remove if possible all impediments that may obstruct our future friendship as allsoe to heale the Breach that allready is, (1) I Judge it Convenient to give you this trouble, assuring you I am truely sorrie ther should happen the [half a line torn away] Especially since [half a line torn away] however, if the default rest on my part (as I fear it may) I intreat you accept of this acknowledgment till time shall produce an occasion by which I ma[y be] able to make you more ample satisfaction, which hope will not be long first; in the meane time might this be soe successfull as to obteine itt's desird Effect, *Viz* A releasment of all former errors and a

(1) The cause of the quarrel between Harwar and Edwards does not appear.

reconcilliation of all differences and a Confirmation of that mutuall love and unitie that should be betixt [*sic*] us, it would as much to the Content and happinesse of him that desires to approve himself, Sir,

Your truly loveing Friend and Servant
R[A]L: HARWAR

[Endorsed in Richard Edward's writing]
from Doctor Harwar 22d [Septem]ber

LETTER LXV.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3484.)

Hugly the 22d September 167[0]

Mr Richard Edwards

Dear Friend

Yours of the 12th and 17th present received the 14th and 19th ditto with the Bundle you mention, agreeing with the enclosed Note; the Same Day Recei[ved? the adv]ice of Silk of Mr Vinc[ent] f[or whi[ch [* * *] I Returne you many tha[nk]s [? and according to] your order I have delivered Mr Nurse his things and have received theire produce, which together with what for your account have placed to your Accompt Current. I have Sold 6 of No. 2 for 6 rs. and Shall Indeavour to put of the Rest to as gr[ea]t Advantage as may be, and have Given Mr B[ag]nold 2 of the Same No. who returnes you his thanks and ha[ve] laid by two of No. 2 and 3 till your furth[er or]der. The Breed I like-wise received and thank you for y[o]ur Care in Indeavouring its Disposure, and according to your Desire have placed the ½rs. and the Cossetts hire to your account.

The measure of your head I Received and promise to use My Utmost Endea[vo]ur to procure you a hat [* * *] will not be to your likeing, the fasshion now as I hear Being low Crowns as formerly, but very broad Brims which must be very ugly, but if you doe not order the Contrary Shall procure if I can of the former fasshion for you and my Self, having never a wh[o]le one to my head.

I ap[prov]e very well of the way you propose of Sending each other's pacquetts and Shall get a letter Ready to goe with yours to be left in London, and if you Send Downe Any thing to bee Sent to the Watermans wife, Shall Send it in the Ship where Mr Bridges Goes, who is bou[n]d [a line and a half torn away].

Th[e ly]me water goes [wi]th [Mr] March which was filled up to Day having no time to Burne it (1) but must Desire you to burne it there.

Those purges I promised to Send Per this Conveighan[e] are Ready, and doe intend to order Nilcund not t[o] provide them, Mr Vincent having Some of the Same, who promises to furnish you with what you want, hoping by this time you have found good by those things last sent, and punch or any other liquo[r] you may Drink.

I have Received of Mr March 400 rs in good [* * *] thanks for your care in Dis[? peeding] of [* * *] haveing little [? else] at present, save with my [? respects] to Mr Peacock to Subscribe my Self

Your Reall and affection[atel]y Loving Friend

JNO: VICKERS

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

[? mer]chant In Cossumbazar

LETTER LXVI.

Valentine Nurse to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3485.)

Hugly the 23d September 1670.

Love[ing] Friend

Mr Richard Edwards

Sir, the severall thinges you sent downe to mee I have received by the hands of Mr John Vickers, and have according to your order paid unto him 22 rupees with many thankes to you. You may if you please Commaund mee in any thing you want in the place where I am agoeing; (2) you will finde mee very willing to doe it for you. Mr Bridges goes home this yeare and Mr Clavell Succeeds him. What Civill favours or Courtesyes you may know mee hereafter capable to doe you, advise mee, and bee assured no freind shall bee more ready to answer your Expectations and desires then

[your] ve[ry] loving Freind and Servant

VAL. NURSE

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

merchant In Cassumbazar

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(1) The line-water was probably fortified with a large percentage of alcohol, and would be set fire to in order to burn off the raw spirit, in the same way that brandy was "burnt" before administering it as a medicine.

(2) Patna.

LETTER LXVII.

Job Charnock to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3487.)

Pattana 26 September 167[0]

Mr Richard Edwards

Respectd friend, yours I have received. I have dispeeded according to Mr March his desire one of the Caucedus (1) to advise you that the 3 bills exchange are acceptd: You have good Reason to suspect the R. 10000 Marchants; few daies since they were almost quite broken (2) butt by their good hap recovered theire smale Creditt by meanes of some Patan (3) marchants here whoe Trustd them afresh butt one year, butt tis a slender Creditt and much feard. When I have gott the Money, Ill advise you by the cau[sid]. Pray by all meanes have nothing to doe with theire factors at Cassambuzar, bonwalledas, (4) &c. in remittance of Money by exchange, for itts feard they will crack (5); here are Marchants enough to bee gotten besides. I give you thankes for your sending my English Letters. With wishes for your health &ca.

Your Loving Friend to serve you

JOB CHARNOCK (6)

LETTER LXVIII.

Richard Edwards to Ralph Harwar (rough draft).

(O.C. 3490.)

Cassumbuzar 3d October 1670

To the Doctour

yours by Mr Vincent I have received and returne you many thanks for, esteeming my selfe much obliged to your humanity in Seeking to renue the almost dead correspondence between us, and could I have knowne your inclinations, I had, I assure you, anticipated you in the like desire, for indeed the fault was cheifly on my part, and only excusable in that the creditt of my friend, which I thought you somewhat neerly touch't (rather then any great exception my Selfe tooke) caused me to returne you so sharp an answer; but

(1) This is an unusual spelling for the plural of cossid (*kasid*, messenger).

(2) Bankrupt.

(3) Pathān, Afghān.

(4) Banwāli Dās.

(5) Fail.

(6) The signature is torn and only portions of the letters are visible, but there is no doubt that Charnock is the writer.

I shall omitt repetitions, and only crave pardon for what was amiss on my Side, and Since I assure my Selfe of your reality I doe on my part promise my utmost endeavours for the perfecting of an entire amity betwixt us, for which I think I cannot lay a better foundation then to desire from you, and from my selfe assure you, oblivion of all actions past, and I hope my future comport you shall find so full of opennesse and reality as may make you willing to entertain a more strict friendship, which if you shall thinke me worthy of, you Shall ever find me most ready to embrace; and I doubt not to remove the opinion you may have possibly conceived that I am apt to take notice of any small mistake or irregularity, for under such was this, only it's happening in the rawnesse and infancy of our acquaintance caused it to amount to such an heigth.

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed] To Doctor Harwar 3d Octr: 70

LETTER LXIX.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3492.)

Hugly the 5th October 1670

Mr Richard Edwards

Dear Friend

My last to you was Per Mr Vincent which I hope Safely reach't your handes; having Received non[e] from you since, have little to advise, Save that Mr Clavell has Received your bundle from Mr Fr[ee]man it reaching his hands before mine. Mr Marshall Desires kindly to be Reme[mberd] to you and hath Delivered me 2 small bumboes(1) and 1 pallampose(2) for you which I have Sent Per this Boat in Charge of Sheek Chaun(3) peon.

I hear nothing from Mr Mainw[ar]ing as yet of the receipt of the Goodes, hope Per the next may advise you their sale, promising to bee more large, in the interim Remaine

Your Reall and affectionatly loving Friend

JNO. VICKERS

pardon the trouble you will receive in reading this, being in hast.

Id. J. V.

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant In Cassumbazar

[In Richard Edwards's writing] Received the 12th October

(1) Bamboos, an unusual spelling of the word.

(2) A quilt. See Letter IV.

(3) Shekh Khan.

LETTER LXX.

Gabriel Townsend to Richard Edwards.

(O. C, 3493.)

[Gabriel Townsend was elected factor in the Company's service on the 4th Nov. 1661, his securities being Thomas Greene and Thomas Townsend. He seems to have spent the greater part of 12½ years in Bengal, but his name does not often appear in the Records. In 1669 he went with Shem Bridges to Fort St. George and was "much recommended" by Agent Foxcráft. In the same year his salary was raised to 30*l.* per annum, and he was appointed "Fifth at Hughly and Eighth in the Bay." In October, 1671, the Council at Fort St. George made him Second at Hugli under Walter Clavell, and the appointment was confirmed by the Court's "Order for succession in the Bay" of Dec. 13, 1672. Townsend now ranked as Fifth in Bengal, the Chief and Second at Kāsimbāzār and the Chief of Patna preceding him. In January, 1675, he returned to England, sailing in the *Lancaster* with his "black boy." He died unmarried in the "parish of Bartholomews near the Royal Exchange." and his effects were administered by his brother Thomas on the 9th Dec. 1681. No details of Gabriel Townsend's parentage have been discovered, but it is possible that he was the son of Thomas Townsend of St. Martin's, Ludgate, London, administration of whose effects was granted to his widow Susanna on Aug. 20, 1660; or he may have been the son of Gabriel Townsend of St. Martin's Outwych, London, administration of whose effects was granted to his widow Elizabeth on the 12th Aug. 1669. See *Court Minutes*. vol. xxiv, pp. 211, 216, vol. xxvi, p. 306; *O. C.* Nos. 3137, 3247, 3765; *Factory Records*, Fort St George, vol. xvi, Hugli, vol. iv; *Letter Book*, vol. v, p. 212; *P. C. C.* Admons.]

[No place or date]

To Mr. Edwards

I have here sent you 2 Rupies by This pune which is for the slippers I stole away and some of that trade (1) I spoke of to you. As for new slippers,

(1) Commodity.

you may Lett them alone. Rememb[ra]unce to Mr Peacock and the Old great Tree. (1) I have no more att present but wishing you health Remain

Your assured Friend
GABRIEL TOWNSEND

[Endorsed] To Mr. Richard Edwards
Merchant In Cassambazar
[In Richard Edwards's writing] Received the 12 October.

LETTER LXXI.

Richard Edwards to John Vickers (rough draft).

(O. C. 3498.)

Cassumbuzar October [14th] 1670

To Mr Vickers.

my fast to you was the 3d Instant, (2) only advising the receipt of yours of the 22th [*sic*] past month Per Mr Vincent, which having not then time to answer, shall now doe more fully, as also yours of the 5th Instant, which togither with the 2 bamboes and pallampoos (3) from Mr. Marshall and bundle from Mr Freeman (fitt for ladys) arrived my hands the 12th at night

In your former you advise of the receipt of the fardle I sent Per Mr Marche's pune, (4) and that you had delivered Mr Nurse those things for him and received their amount, and disposed of the rest as directed, and sold 6 breeches strings. For your care and trouble in that affair I render you many thanks; the 2 breeches strings of No. 2 and do: of No. 3 you may put among the rest, having not now the use I designed them for.

The Caske of lime-water arrived here with Mr March but no advice to me of its amount, nor did you, while he was in Huglie, acquaint him with it.

the purges as you advise, shall receive from Mr Vincent. I have taken the medicine you sent for the ringwormes but it hath not perfected the cure, would therefore entreate you to procure of him (5) some more effectuall remedy if possible, for which pray spare no cost, and let him be well paid (which place to my account), and withall assure him if he quickly rids me of them, I will not fayle to gratify him over and above.

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(1) If, as seems likely, this is a playful allusion to Thomas Haslewood, the letter is placed in the Records out of its order and should precede those for July, since Haslewood reached Hugli from Kasimbazar on July 2, 1670, and died there on the 20th. See Letters XXXVIII. and XLIV.

(2) This letter has not been traced.

(3) A quilt. See Letter IV.

(4) See Letter LXII.

(5) Nilkanth, the Indian doctor. See Letters XXXVIII and LVII.

at Mr Vincent's arrivall here from Huglie, he told me that Mr Clavell said there would be occasion for me at Ballasore, and that I should come along with the next goods from hence, which news (though 'twould be to my' trouble and Charge) I was extreamly glad of for the sake of your most desired Company (you know I complement not), but as a happynesse too great for me, I fear I shall misse of it, hearing no word of it in the generall (1); must therefore, besides what I formerly desired you to get for me, *viat.*, the hat (which pray let be of good old fashion, since the new is so ugly) and the combs, knives, &ca., entreat you to procure me a backsword (2) with a handle like yours, if you can get it, or any other toole (3) that will not cost too much money, and I or 2 small picture glasses (4) if Procurable, and ½ dozen ordinary knives or any other toys (5) fitt to give away, for which disbursements I hope you will be furnished with effects of mine upon the sale of the girdles.

the letter to send in your pacquett I shall get ready, as also some small token to the waterman's wife, after the dispeeding away the next goods from hence, which will be in a small time.

In a former I desired you to send me word what goods you hear are most requestable with the ships, which pray fayle not to doe Per your next.

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed] To Mr Vickers October 14th: 70

LETTER LXXII.

Richard Edwards to John Marshall (rough draft).

(O. C. 3499.)

Cassumbuzar October 14, 1617.

To Mr Marshall

the hurry of your unexpectedly sudden departure from this place made me forget to aske you the amount of those things you did me the favour to bring me from Pattana, so that I know not but I am your debtor for what they might come to more then you were imbursed of mine; therefore desire you would Per next (if your leisure Permitt) advise me their prizes,(6) as also the pallampoos you delivered Mr Vickers to send me, which arrived my hands last night, togither with 2 bamboes, for which I humbly thanke you; and heartily to begg the honour of your comands, if in any thing I may serve

(1) By "generall" is meant the General Letter from the factory to Madras or England

(2) A sword with only one cutting edge.

(3) A weapon of war.

(4) Transparencies. In Letter LXXV Edwards describes them as "looking glasses pictured on the back side."

(5) Knick-knacks, trifles.

(6) Price.

you, that so I may expresse (for I can't complement) how unfeignedly I desire to be accounted Sir

Your reall friend and humble servant
R. E.

[Endorsed] To Mr Marshall October 14th 70

LETTER LXXIII.

Ralph Harwar to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3500.)

Huglie the 18 of October 1670

Mr Richard Edwards,

Sir, I long since Received yours of the 3d [inst]ant, which gave me much Joy in that I found you soe Curteously incline to what I have soe long desired, and am only sorrie that I broke no[t] my silence sooner. For what is past, I am soe far from Retaining any hard thoughts of you that I only thinke my selfe Culpable; and that you may be Confident what I say is Re[al], I shall for the future strictly require o[f] [m]y selfe such actions as may (if possible) merrit your Friendship, and till Better Confirmed shall be verry Cautious of Commiti[ng] any thing that may in the least inpeed its growt[h], the increase of [wh]ich [is w]hat is Earnestly desir[ed] Per Sir

Your loveing Frie[nd] and Servant
RAL: HARWAR

Excuse Hast and Rudenesse and Present me humbly to Mr March &ca.

de]m R. H:

[Endorsed] For [Mr] Richard Edwards
Merchant in Cassumbuzar

LETTER LXXIV.

Richard Edwards to William Street (rough draft).

(O.C. 3502.)

[William Street was a brother-in-law of Richard Edwards (see *ante*, p 122). He appears to be identical with William Street, citizen and haberdasher of London, whose will, dated June 29, 1677, was proved on July 14, 1677, by his widow Elizabeth. *P.C.C. Wills*, 79 Hale]

Cassumbuzar October 20th 1670.

To Brother Streete.

I hope my last year's letter of the 20th November 1669 (1) Per Mr Powell is safely arrived your hand, and that you have been pleased to be assistant to

(1) This letter has not been traced.

me in what I then desired of you. I am extreame sorry I cannot be found worthy to receive a line from you in so long time, which makes me fear the oversights I have been guilty of have fixt a very bad conceipt of me in the minds of my friends, else they would not all be silent this year; but I shall strive by my after life to regaine your and their good opinion, and if possible engage you to favour me with a few lines each shipping, which, that they may safely arrive my hands (for I am sometime apt to flatter my selfe that you have sent, and they miscarried), I have taken the opportunity of sending this under the Cover of Mr Matthias Vincent to his brother, Mr Thomas Vincent (Whom you are well accquainted with), desiring him to engage his brother to deliver it with his owne hand, to whom would entreate you to give what letters you or any of my friends may hereafter send, te goe under his cover, so I shall be sure to receive them, his brother being a very curteous and really honest man, and extream civill to me, should therefore take it as a great favour if you would accknowledge so much to him, and engage him to write to his brother to befriend me here in what he may.

I shall not fayle to write to you more at large by some other of the Ships, having had so short warning of the dispatch of this that I cannot now farther inlarge then to accquaint you of my health, which I praise God I have enjoyed ever since I have been in the Country, and hope he hath vouchsafed the same blessing to you and yours, the continuance of which with the affluence of all prosperity I begg of the same almighty God unto whose protection commiting you, at present conclude, subscribing Sir

[Endorsed] [Unsigned]

To brother Streete October 20th : 70

LETTER LXXV.

Richard Edwards to Thomas Edwards (rough draft).

(O. C. 3517.)

Ballasore December the 5th 1670.

To brother Edwards (1)

by the first ship dispeeded hence I sent you one under Mr Vincent's cover, of date the 20th October (2) from Cassumbazar, only advising my health, and that I would write more at large by some of the other ships, which I thought I might safely promise, the businesse there being almost finish't for

(1) Thomas Edwards, Richard Edward's elder brother, died in 1672. See the notice of Richard Edwards, *ante*, p. 122

(2) This letter has not been traced.

this year, but in few days after came order from the Chief that I must proceed along with the goods then dispeeded thence, there being occasion for me here, where, since my arrivall, I have been always imployed, so that I shall not possibly find time to write to all my friends, one ship heing dispatcht since I came hither, and the *Rainbow*, per which I send this, will be gone to morrow or next day, and I hear I must goe for Cassumbuzar againe 3 or 4 days hence; must therefore desire my friends would hold me excused if I fayle of my promise and their expectations.

I cannot but againe tell you that I hope you have paid Mr Powell the money, or if not to begge earnestly of you not to fayle to do it now. I am extreamly solicitous about it, because it would much weaken, if not ruine my credit here, if he should fayle of satisfaction to his content.

If the papers I sent you home last year were not to your content, I desire you would draw up blanks according as you would have them and send them per next ships, and I shall not fayle to signe them or any other you shall find convenient for your owne security in being bound for me.

I hope you have favoured me with your assistance in what I desired of you last year, which was to procure the augmentation of my salary, wherein you may have met the lesse difficulty, for (as I am since advised) the Chief &c. Councell here were pleased to write to the Company in their generall (1) very much in my behalfe, (2) so that I hope through your care I may not fear to obtaine it, which may somewhat helpe to bear the Chargeablenesse of this countree the better, where since my arrivall, I'm sure it has cost me near one hundred pounds in Apparell and other necessarys, which any one that lives in any credit in the Countrey can't be without, so that I might before now have run my selfe out at heeles if I had not met with some so kind here as now and then to put me in a way to get a little money; and indeed I am extreamly obliged to the Chief of Cassumbuzar, Mr March, who hath always favoured me very much, and now upon my coming downe hither ordered me 1000 Rupees, if I can procure any comodities here by which I may make any proffit at Cassumbuzar; and were it not for such helps sometimes, no one that has but a small stock were able to live in this Countrey, which is so expensive that I cannot but admire (3) at the reports I heard in England, as that one might live very handsomely and lay up halfe of the Companys sallary at the year's end, when my servant's wages costs me above three quarters of it now.

Not having heard a word from you or any of my friends this year, I am somewhat to seeke what to write, must only in generall desire of you, that as

(1) General Letter.
(2) See Letter XXIX.
(3) Wonder.

I have in my former year's letters accquainted with the benefit would accrue to me by having my small stock here to trade with, you would be pleased to send what I may have left (after the disbursements then mentioned) as soone as possibly you conveniently can, in dollars, large swordblades, or gold, and withall two fashionable hats, and about 10 or 15 *li.* in toys, as multiplying glasses, magnifying and triangular glasses, cases of tweezers, Small looking glasses pictured on the back side, handsome cases of knives, wax figures in glasses (if safely put up), or any such like raritys, and a quarter Caske of wine, which let be very good, and delivered to some honest Comander.

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed]
To brother Edwards 15th November 70. (1)

LETTER LXXVI.

Richard Edwards to William Street (rough draft).

(O.C. 3522.)

Ballasore December the 15th 1670.

To brother Streete

from Cassumbuzar I writ you one of date the 20th October, uuder Mr Vincent's cover, to be sent per first ship, and then promised you to be more large by some of the other ships, but the businesse being finished there for this year, I was by the Chief &ca. ordered downe hither, so that I fear I shall be worse then my word, having since my arrivall been almost continually busied in writing and other worke, [ther]efore hope you and the rest of my friends will pardon me if I give [not] so full an account of my concernes and the Countrey as otherwise I should.

I tooke the boldnesse last year to beg some favours of you, wherein I hope you have afforded me your care and assistance as to make meanes to the Comittee to get my Salary encreased, which I hope you have found somewhat the easier to compasse, for that the Chiefe &ca. here were pleased to favour me so much (as I am since advised) as to make mention of me in the Generall to the honoble. Company, much to my advantage, so that I hope by next year's shipping to find that they have taken it into consideration, and augmented it, for what I now have is very inconsiderable to the expensivenesse of the Countrey. Also I hope you have (if you found occasion) been ready to perswade brother Edwards to the payment of those bills I drew on him payable to Mr Powell, whom I should be extream sorry should receive the least

(1) There would appear to be some mistake here made by Edwards, as the letter is dated December 5, and the endorsement November 15. From the letter which follows (*O. C* 3522), he seems to have meant the endorsement to be December 15.

dissatisfactoin or disappointment in leiw (1) of so many favours done, and also the loss I should sustain in my Credit, the thoughts of which keep me not a little in trouble and suspence, till I may be satisfyed by next shipping, when I hope I shall not fayle to hear from you, which I have not this year, nor from any of my friends

[Unsigned]

Writ also to Mr Powell

[No endorsement.]

LETTER LXXVII.

Richard Edwards to John Smith (rough draft).

(O. C. 3533.)

Cassumbuzar Janry. Ult. [1671].

To Mr Smith

Yours of the 19th Current received, and am glad mine of the 14th and 30 past month,(1) togither with the note you ordered me to take up, came Safe to your receipt, whereof I was in Some doubt, not hearing any news from you of long time, occasioned by the miscarriage of the Cossid in his returne hither.

I give you many thanks for your promise of providing the curtains, and Sending a ps. Tanjeeb or Adthy (2) Per next, whose amount Shall thankfully repay to your Selfe or orders.

I am Sorry to hear you are in So greate unlikelyhood of disposing of my Swords, which (if any occasion offers) I desire you would doe at any price above 3 rs. and also give me Such bad incouragement from Gohatte, (3) of which fellow's heresay Mr March however gives me Some assurance (4)

If you put Such an estimate on the triviall and inconsiderable Services I have been able to doe you, what must then become [torn away] besides the inequallity, being already the obliged, doe impos[e torn away] troubles on you, and have withall So Small meane[s * * *]

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed] To Mr Smith Ult. Jany.

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(1) These three letters have not been traced.

(2) *Tansib, adhotar.* See Letters XV and XXXIII.

(3) Gauhati. See Letter XXI for Edwards's investment there.

(4) Edwards means that March had assured him in the matter of bad faith imputed to his agent at Gauhati.

LETTER LXXVIII.

Notes of Letters from Richard Edwards to Edward Reade, John Billingsley, John Vickers, and John Marshall.

(O.C. 3560.)

Cassumbuzar March the 24th [1671].

To Mr Reade. (1) Sent him 2 setts strings for horsmaines and promised to get ready the other things to send per next.

To Mr Billingsley. (1) Sent him 2 large strings to tye gownes.

To Mr Vickers. Advising the receipt of his of the 1st past month (2) and 5 peices sannoes (3) at 3 rupees, for which had credited him, also for the 8 rupees paid on account lungies. (4) Desired him to send 2 peices sannoes at 5 or 6 rs. the piece. To receive 60 rups. of John Bugden (5) on account Mr March. To procure me some rosewater and wine and any other raritys &ca from Persia, and to receive of Mr White or his order what he hath brought for me. Gave him account that had proved his [illegible], and sent 1 pr cottstrings (6) and 1 pr pillowstrings. Promised to send slippers.

To Mr Marshall. Acknowledging the receipt of his, and that had bespoke 2 strings 10 covids; (7) 4 do. 6, according to his order.

[Endorsed] To Mr Vickers and severall merchants

LETTER LXXIX.

John Smith to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3622.)

Decca January 23d 167½

Mr Richard Edwards.

Esteemed friend

Yours of date 8th (8) received 16th present.

Am sorry my Letters met with soe Long a passage. Thank you kindly for your care fn provideing and sending my things to Ballasore, which Mr Reade writes hee received and sent for England.

(1) Edwarde Reade and John Billingsley, Company's servants, will be noticed later.

(2) This letter has not been traced.

(3) *Sanu.* See Letter V.

(4) *Lungi.* See Letter XVII.

(5) John Bugden, a brother of Edmund Bugden, Company's servant, was captain of a coasting vessel. Later on, he acted as pilot in the Hugli river

(6) See Letter L.

(7) Port. *covado,* cubit, ell. See Letter LVII.

(8) This letter has not been traced. Smith's letter here given is the only one addressed to Edwards that has been preserved for the year 1671 (ending March 24, 1671/2). After 1670 no further drafts of Edward's replies to his correspondence appear to exist.

I writ severall times to Mr Clavell for the Bale Silk Mr March provided for mee, but hee did not deliver it, by which means Im greatly disappointed, and I heare hee hath 2 of my Europe Letters in his custody which he sends not, nor have I received any answer to any Generall or perticuler (1) sent him this 5 months. I understand not the meaning of it.

Am sorry you are like to come to a losse for your trouble in tracking the Companys goods, but glad to heare of your advance in Sallary and place, in which wish you much happinesse and prosperity. Am sorry to read you are not well; hope your Sicknesse will have left you ere this reach your hands.

I have at last Sold our Pepper at 19 rupees, a poore price; feare there will bee Little or noe proffet. As soone as have oppertunity, shall remitt your mony with your Case etca. here, which I intended to have carried with mee if had gone last Shipping. Your successe as well as mine is bad in tradeing here, the Swords beleive will by as long as the Pepper, here being many arrived. I received the peice Tafta (2); for its procury thank you. I rest

Your assured freind and servant

JOHN SMITH.

Have writt to Mr Vincent if hee remitt any more mony to pay your 500 Rupees out of it; you are pardoned.

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards Merchant in Cassumbuzar.

LETTER LXXX.

Thomas Pace to Richard Edwards;

(O. C. 3636.)

[Thomas Pace elected writer for Bengal on the 3rd Nov. 1670, his securities being "Thomas Pace Senior of Battersea, gent., and Peter Decele of Norwich, vintner". He sailed to India in the *East India Merchant*, and reached Madras in 1671. Thence he was sent to Bengal, and was employed at Balasor and Hūglī. In 1674 he was commended for his devotion to the Company's interest during the fire which partly consumed the factory at Balasor. In December, 1675, Mistress Mary Barker, "sent to be a wife for Mr. Thomas Pace," was permitted to sail to India in the *Loyall Eagle*. She travelled under the care of Mrs. Cole, who went out with her three daughters to join her husband Robert Cole, a dyer in the

(1) Official or private letters.

(2) Taffeta. See Letter XIII.

Company's service. When Mary Barker arrived in India, she found that her affianced husband had died in Balasor in the September before her departure from England. Administration of the effects of Thomas Pace was granted to his father on the 12th Sept. 1677. Mary Barker lost no time in replacing her dead bridegroom, for she married John Davis, also a servant of the Company, within six weeks of her arrival in India. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii, p. 66; *O.C.* 3575; *Factory Records*, Hugli, vol. iv, Fort St. George, vol. xxviii; *Letter-Book*, vol. v.; *P.C.C Admons.*]

Ballasore May 3d 1672

Mr Richard Edwards.
Worthy Friend.

I Gladly received your letter of the 22d Aprill this day, wherein I would have you think that ayry Excuse for not writeing might well have been Spared. Thatt you writt Att All was Enough to Satisfy my hopes. As I lay no blame upon you, Therefore fancy not, you have in the lest Offended Ag[ainst fr]iendship, And Question not in Joyfull ne [* * *] to bee received with Eagerness [* * *].

Indeed to [* * *] was with longing desires Expected [* * *] I considered the person failing I[t] was Sufficiently Evinced that there was reason for the Failure.

Your Correspondence is really wished and thoug [*sic*] I may Administer to its Continuance and Improvement, I leave it to you, as you mentioned in yours, to propose.

Your 18 rs. I received this Evening, but the Sudden returne of the Cossid denyed me the power of Serving you att present in what you desired, For, in so Short A time as halfe A day, I Could neither Get them [*sic*] ps. of Sannoes you desired so good Or So Chap As in A longer time, which shall be betwixt this and the next Opportunity dedicated to procure them. Your ps. of Curtain Stuffe yet remains unsold, though I have Endeavoured My Self and have imploy'd Others to Attempt the Same. Att the Arrivall of the Europe Ships I may perhaps Effect it.

I am reduced [no]w to A necessity of being Abrupt in not An [swe] ring yours So full as I would, for besides the Quick [dispa]tch of the Peon, Mr Hall this day [* * *] send to Hugly. And what buisine [* * *] ers (Of which he is inclined you know) to [* * *y] it is imposed upon me to be the [on]ly person that must perform it,

I am forced [* * *] now to be tamely Abused, not that I am in the lest inclined to furious Wayes, Either for Defence Or revenge. Butt reason is not now permitted to be Argued Since Mr Hall has been endued with power

to Command,(1) that together with his Age, Authorizing Affronts, Of whose nature by the next Ile acquaint you, and att pressent Excuse my Shortness by declareing my selfe

Your reall friend
THOS: PACE

Pressent my respects to Mr Vincent.

What you desired as to Mr Reade I have performed.

Mr Bradford(2) by great misfortune, as he was Coming from Hugly with a pergo(3) laden with Oyle, was cast away about Ingerlee,(4) but not much hurt to his person or goods. Of this I had newes to day.

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant In Cassambazar.

LETTER LXXXI.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3638.)

Decca May the 14th 1672

Dear Brother

The 18th past month I reacht this place but can g[ive] you little Account of it as yet, having heen out of i[t] ever since my leaving Cassumbazar.

I have got ready I ps. mulmul(5) and I do. Tanjeeb, bu[t] cannot send them as yet, the Diwan (6) not permitting to send A Cosset. The rest of the things in your remem [* * *] shall get ready; your Seal is Cutting, the arm things [*sic*] [and] Rinocerost horne are very Dear, above 10 rup[ees] as they tell me, soe have bought none as yet.

Before my leaving Cassumbazar I paid the Che[if] guallee(7) I rupee (to provide men to goe to Merdad[pur](8) which I thinke was not Deducted out of their h[ire].

(1) Joseph Hall, who had resented the appointment of Matthias Vincent as Chief at Kasimbazar on the death of John March, was at this time at variance with all his superiors, and made the life of his subordinates a misery.

(2) I have found no other mention of this individual, who was probably the captain of a coasting vessel

(3) A cargo boat. The word is probably a corruption of the Port. *barca*. See Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, p. 228.

(4) Hijili, an island at the mouth of the Hugli river

(5) Hind. *malmal*, muslim.

(6) *Diwan*, chief native officer (properly "cowherd").

(7) *Gwala*, palanquin bearer.

(8) Mirdaudpur. This place, which was situated north-east of Kasimbazar, is traced by Yule (see *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii, pp. 219-20) up to 1770. It does not appear in any modern map, and has probably been swallowed up by the Jelingi river, which hereabouts frequently cuts its banks.

my Boy [?]ooree(1) has I thinke stole my New buttons, but saith they were left behind in [* * *] Send me word if it bee soe that I may g [* * *] a Despatch, for I know that he (and hear th [at his] father allsoe) is a theif : if Bekunn (2) b[e not] Come away, pray hasten him :

Our goodes are not yet come from Hugly, but in a letter received 2 dayes since from Mr Clave [II] he advises they will suddenly ; I hope now they bee in the way hither.

I hope now wee are past making any excuses [for] any trouble which wee give one another and therefore shall onely reckon up my wants, wh[ich] desire you to Supply if you Can ; imprimis, [?] peeces of Mumsamma(3) Course, as soon as Conve [nient]ly you Can Per any Merchants Boat ; if you Cann[ot] Supply me with these(4) the Companies goods, [I am] like to goe without them. Item : lps. of ord[inary] couloured Taffaty(5) for lining of Coats, 1 ps. [* * *] if you Ca]n g]et it, 1 Set of [* * *] Strings [for] A Horse, and some of the Silver and plaine Shooes [of the] Bigness of yours but long[er].

Have nothing more at present (onely to desire you not to bee Melancholy, and to present my humble service to Mr marshall, Mr Littl[eton] and his Lady and all other freinds) but to subscr[ibe]

Thy Reall and most affectiontely Loving Brother

JNO. VICKERS

My Companion that came with me hither(6) hath ever since kep very close to me. I have lately tryed 2 or 3 wayes to get rid of his Company, but he sticks still closer to me, though have a devise in my head that in 10 or 12 dayes will quite [* * *] him of, and should he take snuff(7) [* * *] I shall not be sorry

Idem J. V.

If Mr Vincent will give you my receipt for his Moors,(8) pray take it. I thought to have sent some Mony to Invest for our shipps, but now shall forbeare till I see how things will goe, and doe advise you to give out as

(1) ? Bhuri. The first letter is missing.

(2) Bhikhan.

(3) Hind. *momjama*, wax-cloth.

(4) "From" seems to be omitted.

(5) See Letter XIII,

(6) James Price, who had been sent by Walter Clavell to act as the Company's *vakil*, or agent, at Dacca and to keep an eye on John Smith, who was suspected of malpractices.

(7) Take offence, be annoyed.

(8) Mohur, *mohar*, a gold coin, worth at this period about Re. 14.

little mony as you can for any thing, beleiving their will bee A generall stop put to our businesse, which I feaf will conti[nue] for some time

Yours ut Supra

J. V.

LETTER LXXXII.

John Smith to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3652.)

[Decca June 20th 1672

Mr Richard Edwards

Esteemed Freind

by James Price(1) Received a Letter from you and thank you very kindly for your advice concerning him. Wee have used him accordingly and never imploy'd him in a Cowry worth of service. Wee doe this day dispeed him with a S [?eerpaw](2) and your Brother J: V:(3) hath been honour'd with another.

Thank God wee have now ended most of our troubles(4) and got our two Phirwannas,(5) which will send in few days; hope shall now please them all. If you hear of Jemes, as tis like hee will, that hee ended the businesse, doe mee the favour to tell him from mee that hee's a Lying Rog[ue[and never was imploy'd.

Pray continue your [* * *]

Your assured freind and [servant]

JOHN SMITH

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant in Cassumbazar.

LETTER LXXXIII.

Samuel Bullivant to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3695.)

[Samuel Bullivant was elected factor on the 13th Nov. 1667, at 20*l.* per annum, his securities being John Bullivant (probably his father) and Daniel Hart. He sailed to India in the *Blackamore* with Richard Edwards, and was employed at Masulipatam until the end of the

(1) See Letter LXXXI.

(2) Probably "Seerpaw," for *Saropa*, a dress of honour.

(3) John Vickers.

(4) Smith had been negotiating with the authorities at Dacca to obtain redress of grievances suffered by the English at the hands of Malik Kasim, Governor of Hugli.

(5) *Parwana*, official letter, order.

year 1669, when he was transferred to Hugli. Details of his illness and temporary delirium while at that place are given in Letter LVIII. In 1672 Bullivant was sent to Patna, and eventually rose to be Second of that factory. He died there, unmarried, on Dec. 22, 1677. See *Court Minutes,* vol. xxv*a*, p. 44, vol xxxvi. pp. 62, 67, 68; *O.C.* 3171; *Factory Records*, Fort St George, vols. xvi, and xxviii.; *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, vol. ii, p. 20; *P.C.C Admons.*]

Singee(1) November 5th 1672

Mr Richard Edwards
respected Freind

By the Cossids that goe with the bookes of this Factory to you, I have put a silver Coja,(2) made up in Wax-cloath, directed to Mr Clavell. These are to desire you when they shall arive with [yo]u that you would take it of them, and [dis]peed it forward to Hugly by some trusty Cossid that you shall send thither. I have not more but to beg your pardon for this trouble, and to subscribe

Your reall freind to serve you
SAMLL. BULL[IVA]NT

P.S. I hope you have before this received the ps. of stuffe sent you in charge of Medena,(3) Mr Marshalls servant, as also the 2 bage of Saltpetre sent on Cockletts(4) boate the cheife Boateman

Idem S. B.

[Endorsed] For Mr Richard Edwards,
Merchant in Cassimbuzar

LETTER LXXXIV.

George Peacock to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3699.)

[George Peacock was "entertained writer for Bantam," in Sumatra, on the 1st Oct. 1667, his securities being John Peacock and William Okes. On the 22nd Nov. following, however, he was elected "for the Coast and Bay" and granted a passage in the *Madras Merchant*. On his arrival at Masulipatam he was sent on to Bengal, and was employed at Hugli and Balasor until early in the year 1675 when he was ordered to Patna and stationed there as Third. In

(1) Singhiya, near Patna, where the Company's factory was situated.
(2) *Kusa*, flagon. See Letter V.
(3) ?Maduna.
(4) I have found no other mention of this individual.

March, 1677, he was back at Hugli, and, being left in charge of the factory, picked the lock of the Water Gate between 10 and 11 at night, "the Porter haveing after 9 a Clock brought him the Keyes as usually," and went off without leave. His offence was the greater, since two Englishmen who had embroiled themselves with the native authorities at Hugli were under arrest in the factory and might have escaped. On the 4th April Peacock returned, "haveing been absent 15 daies without leave, upon his one business." He then appears to have gone back to Patna, for in July of 1677 he was summoned as a witness against Samuel Hervy, who was accused of holding atheistical doctrines. In November of the same year he accompanied the fleet of saltpetre boats from Patna to Hugli, halting at Kasimbāzār on his way. By this time the Bengal Council were thoroughly incensed against him, and on the 30th Dec. 1677, he was summoned to Balasor and "soundly checked" for his "Irregularities," and was "ordered to give a pass Acknowledging his faults and that he would be more conformable to orders in the future."

In 1678 Peacock was Third and Warehousekeeper at Balasor, and was indulging in hopes of private trade, as appears by a letter he wrote to Edwards on the 7th May 1679. On the 1st Jan. 1680, he married Sarah Berresford at Hūgli, and at the same time was appointed Chief at Patna. But bad reports of his conduct had reached the Court of Committees, and in March, 1682, they wrote to Bengal, ordering him to be discharged and sent home as a "creature of Mr Vincents" who "did wickedly abuse us in the sorting of our Romalls [kerchiefs]." In their letter of November, 1682, the Court repeated the order for the discharge of Peacock and his "confederates" unless "by repentance" they merited favour. Whether Peacock would have regained his position is uncertain, but he had no opportunity of accepting the Court's alternative, as he died either before the letters from England reached India or shortly after their arrival. His death is reported in a letter from Hūgli of December, 1683, but the date of the event is not given. In the following year his widow married Fytch Nedham, one of her late husband's "confederates."

Administration of George Peacock's effects was granted on the 12th June, 1684, to John Lle wellin for "Sara Peacock (since married to Fytche Nedham), relict and only legatee."

No details of George Peacock's parentage have been ascertained The John Peacock who was his security may be identical with John

Peacock of Chawley, Berks, administration of whose goods was granted to his brother Francis on the 24th June, 1669. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxva, p 45, vol. xxvi, pp. 47, 67: *O.C.* 3326, 3765, 4569, 4570, 4606: *Factory Records*, Hugli, vols. ii and iv., Fort St. George, vols. xvi. and xxviii, Kasimbazar, vol. i: Miscellaneous, vol. iii*a*.; *Letter Books*, vol. v, p. 500, vol. vi. p. 478, vol. vii, pp. 105, 238; *P.C.C. Admons.*]

Hugly the 13th November 1672

Mr Richard Edwards

Esteemed friend

Long before this I received yours of the 16th ulto.(1) wherein you desired me to write to Mr Vincent concerning the Taffaties, but I find him other wise then I though[t] he was, his words to be only taken as Compliments, and not other wise then I tell y[ou], having now had proof of him. As to wine I have but one ches[t] for my selfe, but have write for more to Mr Bugden who h[as p]romised to send to the amount of 130 rupees. Halfe of what I have, or shall have, shall spaire to you as I promised, Mr Clavell having disapointed me of one Chest, and another spent. I have not more att present, only pray remember those things I formerly writt to you for, being for Mr Nurse, in soe doing you will obleidg.

Your assured friend and servant

GEO. PEACOCK

Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant in Cassumbuzar

LETTER LXXXV.

John Smith to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3701.)

Decca November 15th 1672.

Mr Richard Edwards

Loving Freind

I have not heard from you since Mr Vickers's departure, nor long before, neither have I received the things desired of you: The peeces flowerd stuff Mr Vickers sett to working for you are not ready, soe have sent you a ps. of the Choice of mine with some peeces of Cloth as under written. They are sealed up in wax Cloth and sent by John Norton. (2)

(1) This letter has not been traced.

(2) John Norton, a "freeman," allied himself with Richard Moseley, a dyer in the Company's service, in 1677, and caused great trouble between the English and the native Governor of Hugli He was arrested in March, and died in prison six months later

O Lmdw enop qid ixpwr pi kia Lwmplwn Lit bid eomm Rip hwp op bhot bdnw qid lmdw lmu wridzl ix Amp Dorkwrp. (1) I rest

Your reall Loving freind

JOHN SMITH

4 ps. fine Adaties(2)	32.–.–
2 ps. Cossa(2)	22.–.–
Charges	6.–
	54.6.–

Tnmq nwawaswn pi sdq plw pei Zhmbbwb mru bwru sq Xonbp qidn pnidp Oilr Baopl. (3)

LETTER LXXXVI.

John Vickers to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3748.)

Fort St. George January the 28th 1672/3

Dear Brother

At my Arrivall to Metchlepatam According to your Remembrance, I demanded of Mr Freeman 8 r: but received it not of him, and for the bale of goodes you are concernd in, it is in A cocheen Chest, (4) as they say, and Mr Mohun has the key at Madapollam, soe that could not dispose of your share as you ordered, though indeed more might have been done had I been well, for ever since my Coming upon this Coast have been soe ill that have not

(1) This cipher (worked out by Miss L. M. Anstey), which is employed by Smith in several of his letters to Edwards, is as follows:—

m = a	z = g	r = n	p = t
s = b	l = h	i = o	d = u, v
k = c	o = i	t = p	e = w
u = d	c = k	y = q	f = x
w = e	h = l	n = r	q = y
x = f	a = m	b = s	g = x

But Smith does not always write his cipher correctly, as in the sentence above, where "eomm" should read "eohh"

The rendering is: I have writ you often to com heather, hop you will not let it slip, sure you have had enough of Mat Vincent.

(2) See Letters VI and XXXIII.

(3) Pray remember to buy the two Glasses and send by First, your [?] John Smith. Here, again, "pnidp" seems to be an error for "pndbpq," trusty, or "pndw," true.

(4) Cabinet work from Cochin has always been famous. *Vide Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple (Hak. Soc.), vol. iii, Pt. I, p. 112; A. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, ed. 1744, vol. i. p. 331. Sandal-wood chests of large size, made there and in the neighbourhood, are still used for preserving clothing.

been able to mind any thing, soe that dear Brother must beg you to excuse this breif account, being soe faint that am not able to sit longer to inlarge then with my most hearty wishes for thy health and prosperity to subscribe

Thy Reall and most affectionately Loving Brother

JNO: VICKERS

Respects and service to all freinds Remember my Account with J: S:(1)

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant in Cassumbazar

Fort St. George the 10th Feb. 1672/3 per your servant T: WILKES(2)

LETTER LXXXVII.

Edward Littleton to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3750.)

[The early career of Edward Littleton in India deserves a detailed notice, since he eventually became the first President in Bengal of the New or English East India Company. He was the son of Sir Timothy Littleton, Kt., was elected factor at 25*l.* per annum on the 25th Oct. 1670, and he "being well skilled in silk," the Court ordered him to be sent to Kāsimbāzār, the centre of their silk trade in Bengal. On reaching Fort St. George, therefore, he was at once dispatched to Balasor, where he arrived in August or September of 1671 and presumably proceeded to his appointed station, as in August, 1672, it is stated that he is "to instruct the the silk winders." On the death of William Bagnold at the end of that year, he went to Hūglī, and since there was "little of business at Cassumbazar," he was permitted to remain and, Edmund Bugden was ordered to "admit him to the knowledge of the Company's business." In March, 1674, apparently owing to a remonstrance from Fort St. George, Littleton was sent back to Kāsimbāzār as Third of that factory, becoming Second in 1676, and Chief in 1677. His suggestion that "an English Silk Weaver might prove of some advantage" to the Silk investments at Kāsimbāzār was taken into consideration by the Fort St. George Council, who premised to select one "of that craft" from amongst the "Souldiery." The Court received good reports of Littleton's conduct, and in December, 1676, they ordered him to be "continued" and "encouraged." In

(1) John Smith.

(2) Timothy Wilkes, factor at Fort St. George, became Second of Council there in 1681, and resigned the service in 1683.

February, 1679, Jacob Verburg, Chief of the Dutch at Hūglī, arrived on a visit to Kāsimbāzār, but Littleton omitted the "usual ceremony" of meeting him, because it was "the Sabbath day, which he had always been instructed and brought up in a Strick observance of."

In 1675 he married his first wife Elizabeth. Her maiden name does not appear, but she may have come out to India with Littleton's brother Robert, a freeman, and his sister Ann, who later became Mrs. Fytch Nedham. George Knipe, another of the Company's servants, described Ann as "passable enough if it was not for her running discourses which are very Impertinent." Elizabeth Littleton died at Kāsimbāzār on the 26th July 1678, "her distemper an inward feavor accompanied, as we Judged, with an Impostume [abscess] in her head." She was buried the following day, "the Dutch being invited, according to Custome," to accompany "the Corps unto the Grave." Elizabeth Littleton left two daughters, Jane Hugliana and Elizabeth Gangetica. The latter was baptized on Sept. 29, 1678, by "Samuell Epes, minister of the Ship *Society*"; and in December of the same year Jane Hugliana was sent home in that ship for "Education and Instruction." Elizabeth Gangetica, "a child of extraordinary hopes and promises," died of an "Inward feavor" on the 12th July 1679, and Littleton, who was ill at the same time, was so affected by the loss that he begged to be allowed to resign his post.

However, he reconsidered his decision, and, after a visit to Hūglī, returned to Kāsimbāzār as Chief until superseded by Job Charnock in 1681. The Court, who still "had a good opinion" of him appointed him Second in Hūglī and "Third in the Bay." But by November, 1681, news of his irregularities had reached England, and he was dismissed and ordered to be sent home for detaining his brother in England contrary to order and for "divers other causes," chief among which was that of private trading. In January, 1682, the Court, "having received further advices of his "unfaithfulness," ordered him to be seized and shipped for England in the *Defence*. In December Parson John Evans, also a notorious private trader, wrote to Edward Reade in London that Littleton was "in a fair way to finish" his business, and that if he and Matthias Vincent "can escape att home as they have done here, they are very fortunate men."

The records are silent with regard to Littleton's reception by his employers. His father, Sir Timothy, "late one of the barons of

the Exchequer," had died in 1679, and Edward Littleton appears to have taken up his residence at Moor in Shropshire, and to have married a second time.

In 1698 he became a Director of the New or English Company, started in rivalry of the old (now styled) London Company, was knighted, and appointed its first President of Bengal. His will, dated before he left England, mentions his wife Sarah, and his nephew Littleton Nedham, the son of Fytch Nedham and his sister Ann. His daughter Jane Hugliana, who is also mentioned, died before 1709, when the will was proved.

Littleton arrived in India for the second time in July, 1690, and from that date, until his death at Fort William on the 24th Oct. 1707, he constantly mismanaged the Company's affairs. Details of his inefficiency, of his constant bickerings with the London Company's agent at Hūglī, and of his unfaithfulness and consequent dismissal are given at length in the accounts of his government by Sir Henry Yule and C. R. Wilson.

He had had a great opportunity, but instead of acquiring fame, his name was "dishonourably enshrined," since he died owing Rs. 80, 437 8a, to the Company. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxvii, pp. 61, 65, 75, 77; vol. xxviii. p. 205; *O. C.* 3575, 3765, 4045, 4113, 4217, 4867, 6690; *Factory Records*, Hugli, vols. i, ii, and iv., Kasimbazar, vol. i.; Miscellaneous, ii, ii*a*, and vi., Fort St. George, vols. ii and xvi; *Letter Books*, vol. iv, p. 391; vol. v, p. 500, vol. vi, p. 270; vol. vii, p. 158; Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii, pp. 205-222; Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, vol. i, p. 154 *et seq.*; *P.C.C. Wills* (148 Lane) and *Admons.*]

Hugli primo February 1672[3]

Mr Richard Edwards
Esteemed friend
Sir

Yours of the 25 last past have received. By the Boates this day departed hence have sent the Palankee, beings mine was not to your minde. Pray, if Oppertunitie offers, please to send mee both mine, or one att leasst, by first Opportunity. Inclosed is a note of the Particulars Bought att Mr Bagnolds outcry (1) the Amount whereof Shall receive of Mr Bugden. Not else at present but that I am

Sir, Your humble Servant

EDWD. LITTLETON

(1) Auction. Wm. Bagnold died at the end of the year 1672. See Letter XXXVI. No account of the sale or of the prices realized by his effects is in existence.

[If] that Mr Elwes bee not yet arrived (1) and you Should Send any Conveniencies to Meadapoore, (2) it would bee a good Conveighaunce to Send the Palankees thither, Soe to bee put on the Pattana Boates that are coming hither.

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant In Cassumbazar.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

Edmund Bugden to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3751.)

Edmund Bugden has the distinction of being in India for a longer period than any other of Edwards's correspondents and of being three times elected a servant of the Company. Like Job Charnock (and possibly in his company), he went out to India in or about the year 1656. The first mention of him in the Records is in April, 1659, when he was at Balasor; and he is again mentioned as being at that place in 1660. In September, 1667, Edmund Bugden senior, a distiller of Wapping, petitioned the Court "on behalfe of his sonne who is with Mr Blake at Hughley," and begged for employment for him in the Company's service. The Court at that time "did not think fit to do any thinge therein," but at their next meeting, "receaving an accompt that the petitioners sonne hath been these 10 yeares in India, and speakes the Language and may deserve encouragement," they ordered him to be taken into their service, "if deserving"; and on the 18th Oct. 1667, he was "admitted to serve the Company" as a factor at 20*l.* per annum. In November the Court, having been furnished with a long complaint from Thomas Stiles, a quarrelsome factor in Bengal, ordered an examination to be made as to "what objections lye against" the employment of Edmund Bugden. The report was favourable, and Bugden's appointment was confirmed and his salary increased to 35*l.* per annum. Later, however, further reports of his "ill character" were received, and the Court reversed their decision and ordered him to be sent home.

Bugden arrived in England in 1670, and his father immediately set to work to get him reinstated in the Company's service. On Oct. 20 the Court ordered the petition of Edmund Bugden, senior, to be "considered" and a report made whether his son "may be usefull to

(1) Robert Elwes had been transferred from Patna to Dacca *vice* John Smith, who was dismissed.

(2) Mirdaudpur. See Letter LXXXI.

be employed in the Bay." On the 1st Nov. the Committee stated that "Edmund Bugden, lately returned from the Bay of Bengall," was proficient in "the language of the Countrey and knowledge in Navigation," and was "fit to be entertained to serve the Company in the Bay on Shipboard and on shore." In consequence Bugden was re-elected factor at 30*l.* per annum, with a seat on the Council at Bengal. He sailed in the *Rebekah* in December, 1671, accompanied by his wife Elizabeth (and probably by his brother John), and appears to have proceeded direct to Hugli. In July, 1674, on account of "little trade," Bugden and his "family" were ordered to Balasor, where he came into collision with Joseph Hall, who accused him of uttering "unseemly" speeches against his masters. But though Bugden's language was violent he seems to have been loyal to his employers.

In 1677 he was to have come to Hugli as a witness in the charge of atheism against Samuel Hervy, but on the death of John Marshall the orders were countermanded and he was directed to send his evidence and to take charge of affairs at Balasor. He quickly embroiled himself with the native Governor, was reproved for rashness in his dealings, for not pricing the Company's cloth, and once more for "unseemly speeches" against the Agent and Council. From that date Bugden steadily declined in favour. He was suspected of being associated with John Smith and Richard Edwards and with his brother John Bugden in illicit private trade, and though he reproached Edwards for permitting the fraud, asserted that he was a victim of John Smith's ill-dealing, and denied "what he is charged withall," he was detained at Hugli in December, 1678, and "not permitted to goe to Balasore whilst the ships are there," In May of 1679 he and his wife were "checked" by Matthias Vincent, then Agent in Bengal, "for being to impertinent in the Bussines Conserning the Accounts," and shortly after letters arrived from England by which Bugden was dismissed the service.

His affairs were found to be greatly involved, but in January, 1680, it was reported that he had "cleered several debts to the Company and is discharged, giving bond to live under the Fort Government." In consequence, he repaired to Madras, but in 1682 was back at Hugli. The Court ordered that he should be compelled to make good 547*l.* for goods "found wanting" in calicoes sent to England.

Once more, however, Bugden found supporters, and on "the solicitation" of his friends he was readmitted to the service in March, 1684,

"in regard he hath made an honest shift to gain a livelyhood and repent" and because "he has had noe dealings with interlopers" and "has considerable experience." Unfortunately, Bugden did not live to hear of his restoration to favour, and was probably dead at the date of his re-election. His wife had predeceased him (apparently in England), and his brother John, a pilot and "freeman," disappears from the Records after 1680. Edmund Bugden left four children, a daughter and three sons, all minors. His goods were administered on the 24th Sept. 1684, by his sister Elizabeth Turner, but his property must have been very small, for 30*l.* was paid by the Court to Ducy Turner, his brother-in-law, in 1689 "out of charity, for relief" of Mr. Bugden's three children. Edmund, Charles, and William Bugden were all entertained in the Company's service on the 27th May, 1691, the first two as writers and the other as an apprentice, and were "transported" to India in the *Charles the Second* free of charge, "they being poor orphans born in India and their Father imployed in the Companys service in the Bay of Bengall." Edmund Bugden's daughter Rebekah had, two years previously, been granted a passage to Fort St. George. His father, Edmund Bugden senior, died in 1698.

The name of Bugden was perpetuated in Bugden's Point (Bugden's Arbour) on the western shore of the Hūglī river, the modern Huldia point above Huldia river. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi, pp. 39, 47, 98; vol. xxvii, pp. 181, 184, 188; vol. xxxiv, pp. 34, 266, 270; vol. xxxv, pp. 139, 177; vol. xxxvi, pp. 70, 79, 87; *O. C.* 2735, 3192, 4502, 4603, 4606, 4664; *Factory Records*, Hugli, vols. i, ii, iv, Fort St. George, vols. ii, xxviii, Miscellaneous, vol. iiia; *Letter Books*, vol. iv, p. 123; vol. v, pp. 25, 391, 516; vol. vii, p. 261; *P. C. C. Wills* (63 Lort) and *Admons.*; Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii, p. 208.]

Hugly 1st February 1672/3

Mr Richard Edwards

Respected friend

Yours of the 25th January is by mee, which could not well answer untill now, being I have just now laded yours &ca. Goods to your residence. There goes on severall bōates your 19 Baggs Pepper, they takeing up so much roome, and your 6 Chests of Copper, and 9 barrs Tinn, all inkt (1) E. Here is 5 of Tinn more of your marke, but know not to whome it belongs to; when do, shall send it them. Here is two Dutch shipps lately arrived

(1) Marked.

fro' Japan so shall suddenly send the Ballance of your account in Copper or Tinn. The hire of your goods comes to 6 rn. 8 an. with the Porterage up and downe, the boate 6¼ r.

Pray Sir, by next oppertunity send mee halfe a Dozen Breeches strings, and 2 pr. ordinary Cott strings, (1) and charge them to the account of him, who is to His Power

Your assured reall friend
EDMD : BUGDEN

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards
Merchant In Cassambazar.

LETTER LXXXIX.

Edward Reade to Richard Rdwards.

(O.C. 3752.)

[Edward Reade, who had married Mary, daughter of Sir Edward Winter, went out to India under his father-in-law's protection when the latter was appointed Governor of Fort St. George in 1661. According to the statement of Thomas Stiles, Reade had been refused employment by the Court and was taken to India by his kinsman without their knowledge. In an anonymous letter from Fort St. George, dated April 14, 1668, it is said Reade was "entertained in Consultation by virtue of a power from the Company" on the 21st. Dec. 1664, and that it was at one time intended to make him Third at Masulipatam, a place for which he was unfitted, "being the only dealer at Metchlepatam with Captains and pursers for prohibited goods." Stiles also declared that legitimate servants of the Company were ousted to make room for Reade as "Purser Generall," but that he lost his post and was discharged on the arrival of Nicholas Buckridge, an inspector sent out from England in 1664. In a letter to the Company of the 9th Jan. 1666, Winter admitted taking Reade into the Company's service, but added that "upon Mr Buckeridge's arrival he left it."

In 1665 Reade separated himself from Sir Edward Winter's party and went over to the side of George Foxcraft, who had been appointed to supersede Winter and had been seized and imprisoned by him. On Foxcraft's reinstatement as Agent, in 1668, he reported favourably

(1) Strings to tie back mosquito curtains. See Letter L.

(27th Jan. 1669) of Reade to his employers "Mr. Edward Read whome you formerly recommended to our consideration being a very ingenious and knowing person, and that hath continued faithfull and usefull to you since his late defection, and hath therein incurred the fierce anger of Sir Edward Winter, notwithstanding his relation to him, is a person so well qualified for knowledg and experience for your affaires as any man whatsoever for your service, that we think him very worthy of your entertainment against any occation may present suitable to his capacity and abilities."

In April of 1669 Reade acted as foreman of the jury in the trial of Ascentia Dawes for the murder of her slave. In June, "having made it his earnest desire that he might have leave to goe into the Bay and there to be at his own Charge and not the Companys, untill such time as he shall be necessarily employed in the Companys service," the Council at Fort St. George granted his request, and he proceeded to Balasor. In October, 1669, the Court formally took him into their service as factor, his securities being "Thomas Creswell Esquire of Hickfield in Co. Southampton and George Vine of Westminster," and on Dec. 7, 1669, the appointment was confirmed "on recommendation" received from Madras.

Meanwhile Reade had arrived at Balasor accompanied by a letter from Foxcraft setting forth his "dilligence and aptitude in the Companys employment." Although, according to Stiles, his "coming to Bengal" was "much resented," he was appointed to manage the Company's affairs at Balasor, and in 1672 he was made a member of Council. In 1676 he was accused of overrating some of the Company's goods, and of private trade and swearing, but the charges do not seem to have been substantiated, for he was subsequently ranked Second at Hugli, and confirmed in that position by the Court. In May, 1679, news was received of the death at Dacca of his daughter, who had come out to India in 1676 and had married Samuel Hervy. This was "no small greif to Mr. Reade and his Lady." A week later Reade wrote to Edwards that he was going to Mirdauddpur "to meete the only living remembrance shee left and bring the child hither."

Edward Reade was one of the few of the Company's servants in the seventeenth century who did not return to England under a cloud. He and his wife sailed in the *George* in 1680, and retired to Chertsey, where he died in 1688. By his will, dated 10th Aug. 1686, and proved on July 21, 1688, he bequeathed his property to his

wife Mary and his grandson Edward Hervy. See *Court Minutes,* vols. xxvi, pp. 286, 292, xxix, p. 188, xxxiv, p. 267: *O.C.* 3112, 3147, 3171, 3344, 3383, 3765, 4178, 4607, 4674; *Factory Records,* Hugli, vols. i, iv., Fort St. George, vol. xvi, Miscellaneous, vols. iii, iiia; *Letter Books,* vol. iv. pp. 299, 300, 497, vol. v, pp. 25, 500, vol. viii, pp. 470, 471; *P.C.C. Wills* (99 Exton).]

Mr Richard Edwards
Esteemed friend

Since your departure I have not one line from Mr Vincent nor you: I hope you are not angry nor sick: if neither, pray spare us a few lines sometimes. I have sent the britches by the Cossids, and my wife intreates you not to forget what shee recommended to you. Wee both remember our best respects,(1) and having not a word of newse, Rest

Your friend and Servant
E. READE

Ballasore February 13th 1672/3.

[Endorsed] For Mr Richard Edwards In Cassumbuzar; recd. February the 23d.(2)

LETTER XC.

Edward Reade to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3753.)

Ballasore February 17th 1672/3

Mr Richard Edwards
Esteemed friend.

I have at last received newse of your safe arrivall from your owne hand, and am very glad of it, and am as glad you had the wine at Hugly. Pray advise mee how much, that I may pass it to Mr Bagnolds account, and let mee know if you are payd what I owe you.

My wife returns you her respects and service and desiers you to proceed in makeing the ps. stuff, thought [*sic*] it cost 15 rups., and that and the strings as soone as you can send her. For my owne use I request you for halfe a dozen britches strings of a small breadth and little tassells or rather that gimcrack of a knot at the end, any colours and not longer then just to tye (your owne bulke will neer fit mee), 3 or 4 striped with Silver

(1) Give our best regards. The 'N.E.D.,' *s.v.* Remember, v, II. 8 b, has an example in 1672 of this obsolete expression.

(2) The last entry is in a different hand, but it is not the writing of Richard Edwards.

or gold, or both, and the rest any Colours plaine, and in plaine terms you will engage

Your friend and servant

E. READE

[Endorsed] For Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant In Cassumbazar

LETTER XCI.

Henry Carpenter to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3755.)

[Henry Carpenter was elected writer on the 14th Aug. 1668, and reached India on the 2nd June 1669. His securities on election were his mother, Lettice Carpenter, and Henry Jones of Keevil, Wilts. The Court wrote to Fort St. George in November, 1670, and expressed a hope that Carpenter "will prove a sobar and industrious person." In that case he was to have "encouragement according to his desert." Again, in December, 1672, the Court urged that he should be encouraged to behave "faithfully and dilligently." In 1673 he was ordered to Patna, and had reached Rājmahal on his way thither when he wrote the letter given below. In January, 1675, his conduct was commended by his Chief, Job Charnock. In September he came to Balasor, and remained as writer there and at Hūgli. In 1676 he ranked "6th in the Bay," and on the 23rd Nov. signed a new bond as a factor. In the following year he intended to return to England and took a passage in the *Cæsar*, but fell a victim to the epidemic which proved fatal to so many of the Company's servants in August and September, 1677. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxvi, pp. 145, 164, 172: *O.C.* 4045: *Factory Records*, Hugli, vols. i, iv, Fort St. George, vol. xxviii, Miscellaneous, vol. iiia.; *Letter Books*, vols. iv, p. 393, v, p. 29; *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, vol. ii. pp. 41-42.]

Rajamaull(1) February the 26th 1672/3

Mr Richard Edwards

and most Respected Friend

Sir

The many and undeserved favours you have bene pleased to heape on me, (but esspetially the Last) are the motives which has embouldened me to trouble you with my Scribleing. It is my greatest Unhappiness that I am

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(1) Rajmahal.

not capacitated at present, to make in Some measure a requitall, but the experience I have lately received of your good nature, has Incurraged me to trust your goodness will accept the will for the Deed. I shall add noe more to your Unnecessary trouble, but to request one favour more of you, to send me, when you send next to Mr Bullivant, 2 payre of ordinary breches Strings. Pray present my love and service to all friends, I remain

Sir

Your devoted friend and humble Servant

HENRY CARPENTER

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant in Cassumbazar

LETTER XCII.

Edmund Bugden to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3756.)

Hugly 28th February 1672/3

Mr Richard Edwards

Respected freind

Yours of the 18th currant received the 21th ditto and am glad all the things of yours are safe arrived that I sent, and now shall send you with Mr Vincents things your 5 peeces of Tinn [5 ps. weighing 3 md. 29s(1) Mr Peacock cut of 2½ s.(2)] I thanke you heartily for the strings you provided for mee. As yet no Japan shipps arrived, so that I cannot yet lay out your money I have received. I must desire you to get two pr. of Plush covers for Slippers I now send you fitted to two paire of Slippers, according to the forme of an old Slipper now send you, and desire by it to order 3 or 4 paire plaine slippers, to be made for mee, and send mee by first oppertunity, in which youle very much oblige mee. Not elce at present. With mine, and Wifes kinde respects to you, I remain

Your assured friend and Servant

EDMD. BUGDEN

Letter accompanying this I received sent [?] Daies since from Ballasore.

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant In Cassambazar

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(1) 3 *man* (mauud) 29 *ser* (seer). The Hugli *man* weighed about 70 lb. at this period; the *ser* was a fortieth part of the *man*.

(2) The passage within brackets is given as a marginal note in the original.

LETTER XCIII.

Thomas Pace to Richard Edwards.

(O. C. 3757.)

Ballasore February [1672/3]

Mr Richard Edwards
and Loving friend

Yours I received advising the procedure of a bale of Sugar(1) and Barly of the Quantities and prices of which together with your Care in Sending them downe on Wm. Lux,(2) you have abundantly obliged me, for which I have only to repeat my thankfullness to you, which by it Emptily reiterating is now become as thred-bare As your obligations are big and Swelling by their often Additions. Let this be my Excuse that I write no more, because I would willingly send something, for the Cossid would be gone should I Add more than that I am

Yours truly to Serve you

THO: PACE

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant in Cassambazar

LETTER XCIV.

Samuel Bullivant to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3759.)

Singee March 12th 1672/3

Mr Richard Edwards
and Respected Freind

I have not of late heard fr[om you] and (if I bee not mistaken) you are my D[ebtor for] a Letter or 2, but my business being of no grea[t con]-sequence, suppose your more solid affairs [ma]y occation your silence. I understand your health by Mr Elwes (which am glad to heare). The peon that came up with the rarities returning, I would [not] omit this oportunity of sending to you. In my last to you I desired you to send mee word whether [you] received a silver coja, (3) directed to you to send fo[rward to] Mr Clavell. Tis now 3 months since I sent it (4) [?] I have no newes of its arrival; it went with the Factory bookes. Pray in your next let mee know if it came to your hand. I had [illegible] Chest [sen]t mee from my Brother in England, which has laine [at] Hugly this 5 months. Twas sent to Mr Bagnold to [send] forward (who dying) suppose tis forgotten [and] they

(1) "Sugar" here probably means sugar-cane.
(2) William Lux, one of the Company's pilots in the Hugli rever.
(3) See Letter V.
(4) See Letter LXXXIII.

know not whose tis. If it bee not already sent, if it shall come to your Factory, please dispeed it to mee by the primo boates. Tis a sad thing to live thus out of the world as wee doe here that in 10 Months time wee cannot receive any thing sent us from our Freinds. I am afraid the Contents of it (which I yet know not) are spoiled with so long lying in the Godownes. (1)

I would desire you to send mee a good strong silke bridle, such a one as Mr Read had once from your Factory, also 2 set of strings for horse maine[s], handsome colours (of about 2 rups. ps. each). I have seen them in Ballasore good ones of the [? finer sort]. Pray send them by the Primo Cossid that [illegible] they are ready, they being for a Freind that [? sent a] peon for them and place their costs to my account. I have great need of a ps. Mulmull (2) and Cossaes which formerly wrote to you for. I hope you remember to purchase them for mee.

Pray present my humble service to Mr Vincent and desire him to send mee 6 or 8 seer of shott of 2 or 3 sorts (if hee has not disposed of that hee had when I was there), and what hee shall demand for it please to satisfie him. Also if you have any store of English powder by you, please to send mee 4 or 6 Ounces, it being for priming, and you will much oblige mee. If the money you have of mine in your hand bee not sufficient to pay for all these things I write for, let mee know and I shall order you the Overplus, or if you shall have occation for any thing here, shall send it you.

Excuse my being so toedious, it being seldome I have oppertunity of sending to you, unless will send a [cossid] on purpose, which you know would cause Crutch. (3) Have not more at present save presentation of my kind respects to your selfe, Mr Marshal, etca. freinds with you, and subscribe

Your reall freind and servant

SAML: BULLYVANT

My service to Mr Naylor and Wife, (4) who I heare of have a boy. Tell them I wish them much joy of it.

Pray send mee what news currentt from Ballasore or Hugly and let mee know where Mr Smith is to reside. I heare hee is for this place desigened. (5) If so, pray lett mee know in your next. You may inquire it as from your selfe nott mentioning my name.

Mr Carpenter not yet arrived. Idem

S. B

(1) Godown, a warehouse, probably derived from Malay *gadong*, a storeroom, through Tel. *gidangi*, Tam. *kidangu*, a place where goods lie.

(2) *Malmal*, muslin.

(3) A dilemma. The more usual spelling of this obsolete expression is "crotch."

(4) John Naylor, the Company's silk dyer at Kasimbazar.

(5) There was no truth in this report, as on Smith's dismissal from Dacca in Jan., 1673, he had been ordered to come to Hugli.

[Endorsed] For Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant In Cassimbuzar

[Beneath this is written] Sir, pray send a silke reine, or 2 extraordinary if one should breake. S. B.

LETTER XCV.

John Billingsley to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3771.)

[John Billingsley, son of John Billingsley, "citizen and goldsmith, London," was elected writer on the 13th Nov. 1667, and was thus a contemporary of Edwards in the Company's service. He sailed in the *Unicorn*, and arrived in India on the 10th Sept. 1668. From "the Coast" he proceeded to Bengal, and was employed at the factories of Hūgli and Balasor. On the 9th Feb. 1671, he was married at Hūgli, but the name of the bride is not given. In their General Letter of the 31st Dec. 1672, the Bengal Council recommended Billingsley for "encouragement" and advancement, he "having now served your Worships five years in one station and in this time having taken much paines in keeping your Registers and other bookes of accounts." In December, 1676, Billingsley, having attained to the rank of "merchant" by nine years' service, signed a bond for 2,000*l.*, giving as one of his securities his father John Billingsley of "Whitechappell." He was now Second at Balasor, where he had built a house, and was no longer "keept under every favoured of the great ones," as he had complained to Edwards in 1674. But further promotion was denied him, for he was one of the earliest victims of the epidemic of 1677. Administration of his goods was granted to his father on Sept. 3, 1678. See *Court Minutes*, vol. xxva, p. 45, vol. xxvi, pp. 62, 67, 87, vol. xxxii. p. 73; *Factory Records*, Hugli, vol. iv, Kasimbazar, vol. i; *Letter Book*, vol. vi, p. 275; *Harl. Ms.* 4254, fol. 13; *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, vol. ii, pp. 18, 72; *P.C.C. Admons.*]

Ballasore the 27th March 1673

Mr. Richard Edwards

Esteemed Friend

I crave pa rdon for my long silence: it has pleased god to visset mee with a bluddy flux (1) ever sence your departure hence, that hath brought

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(1) Dysentery. See Letter XXVI.

me so weake that I have not stured out of my Chamber upperd of two months. But thanks be to God I am upon the mending hand.

What newes wee have from the Coast I have sent you. Wee and the Dutch have had a great fight at home, but not much damage don to us but the lost [*sic*] of the *Ryall James*, which was fired, where his Ryall Hiness was in, but hee made his escape aboard of another. Wee have taken and burnt a great many of there ships, which they were never so rowted befor as they have beene now. (1) The french and wee by land hath taken forty one townes, and seaven Castels from them, that the states of Holland are most undon, (2) and 'tis beleaved wee shall have sudden newes of peace, which pray god send.

The Dutch have taken seaven Metchlepatam boates laden with the Companys goods going to the Fort, to a great vally. They have taken a ship that Mr Lock and Mr Winter was in [? by] which our friends at Metchlepatam will have a great loss. (3)

It is reported they have taken the Companys ships [*sic*] *Returne* upon the south Seas, and 4 of our Europe ships upon the Coast of Surrat and one ship that belong[s] to the President that came from Jappan very richly laden. that the Dutch reports that her laden [*sic*] was most Gold. Wee hope this newes may not bee true. (4) Wee doe expect newes every day from Surrat,

(1) Billingsley is referring to the battle of Southwould, which took place on the 28th May, 1672, when De Ruyter's squadron sailed against the Duke of York. Both English and Dutch claimed the victory: the Duke of York because he had lost only one ship of the line and had destroyed three of those of his enemies, while the Dutch posed as conquerors in right of the damage they had done and of the death of the distinguished Admiral Lord Sandwich, who, with his two sons, perished in the flames on the *Royal James*. It was, however, the *Prince* from which the Duke of York escaped when she was practically wrecked, but she was towed to the rear while the Duke, hidden by smoke, crept out of the cabin window into his boat and passed to the *St. Michael*.

(2) In 1672 the United Provinces were attacked on all sides. Louis XIV, then in alliance with England, collected his force on the Sambre and at Sedan, and when town after town went down before them, for the Dutch were utterly unprepared for invasion, and the battle of Southwold was the result of an attempt by De Witt and De Ruyter to make a second dash at the Thames and thus prevent the English and French from coalescing.

(3) In January, 1673 (*O.C.* 3730, 3742), Agent William Langhorne reported the loss of three boats from Masulipatam, laden with calicoes valued at 5800 pagodas, and stated that they were taken by the Dutch in retaliation for the seizure of their "Vingarlah Yaucht" (yacht for Vingurla, near Goa). In February the number had increased to five (*Factory Records*, Fort St. George, vol. xvii), but seven seems to be an exaggeration. There appears also to be an inaccuracy as regards the "ship that Mr. Lock and Mr. Winter was in," for Sir Edward Winter had already sailed to England in the *Bombay Merchant* in January, 1672. Edward Lock, who was "second to Sir Edward Winter" in 1668, may have been in the captured vessel, but I have found no corroboration of the statement.

(4) This report was only partially correct. The *Return* from Japan, which was to have gone to Surat to be laden for England, was for several months thought to have fallen into the hands of

then wee shall know the truth of it, which shall advise you of. Bad times, gray god send us better. The Moores(1) have taken Santamay from the french so that they are all fled.(2) This is all the newes at present sturring, so having not more to trouble you at this time, but with mine and my wifes kind respects to your selfe. If you lack any thing here I am free to serve you, so remaine

Your ever loving Friend to serve you

JOHN. BILLINGSLEY

Mr. Hall is not gon home, and is a comming from the Fort to Metchlepatam, if not here.

[Endorsed] to Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant In Cassumbuzar

LETTER XCVI

Samuel Bullivant to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3772.)

Singee(3) March 30th 1673

Mr Richard Edwards
and loving Friend

Yours of the 19th past by Mr Carpenter I received with the 2 Shashes(4) and one peice of Mulmull, (5) for which I returne you many thankes and hope when you meet with a ps. ordinary] Cossas,(6) you will remember mee, also to send a silke bridle and 2 sett of silke strings, as in my last to you I requested, Pray Sir, when any Cossid comes from your Factory hither, bee pleased to send a little parsley and Lettice seed, Colwort seed, or any other seeds that are procurable with you or the Dutch of Europe sorts, having great occation here for a few of them; those I brought up with mee were spoiled.

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the Dutch, but it was subsequently ascertained that she was left at Taiwan (Formosa) on the 19th November, 1672, "to stay still the next Monsoon" (*Letter Book*, vol. v, p. 63). No ships were taken by the Dutch off Surat, but the *Hannibal* and *Experiment* were both seized near Malacca. The *Recovery*, belonging to Matthew Gray, President of Surat, escaped the Dutch off Ceylon, but the *Philip and Ann*, another privately owned vessel from Bombay was, on her return from Siam, also taken off Malacca (*O.C.* 3743, 376).

(1) Muhammadans.

(2) The French who took St. Thomé, near Madras, in 1672, were repeatedly attacked by the forces of the king of Golconnda, but had not, at this date, been compelled to relinquish their conquest.

(3) Singhiya. See Letter LXXXIII.

(4) Turbans, turban-cloths.

(5) *Malmal, khassa.* See Letters VI, XCIV.

(6) See Letter LXXXVII. As stated before (see Letter LXXIX), no further drafts of Edwards's replies to his correspondents have been traced.

Pray send mee 5 or 6 more of those ordinary girdles of several colours.

I have not more at present save my respects to your selfe Etca. Friends, and subscribe,

Your reall Friend and servant

SAM : BULLYVANT

P.S. pray when you see the Dutch, present my respects to them

Idem S: B.

[Endorsed] For Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant In Cassimbuzar

LETTER XCVII.

Edward Littleton to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3773.)

Hugly the primo Aprill 1673

Mr Richard Edwards

Esteemed friend

Sir

Yours of the 6 february longe since received, where see had mine of the primo ditto.(4) and that had received the Palankee, which am glad of. Mine came very well to hand, and for your care therein return you many thankes. The Amount of what you Bought att the outcry (1) have received of Mr Bugden. Opportunities of advise hence have of late beene Somewhat Scarce, which hath beene Some Occasion of my tardiuesse herein. Noe more, Save tender of all Service, rest.

Sir Your Assured friend and ready Servant

EDWD LITTLETON

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant in Cassumbazar

LETTER XCVIII.

Thomas Pace to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3774.)

Ballasore Aprill the 1st [1673]

Mr Richard Edwards

Respected friend

Nothing of much Importance Occurring, I have beene Slack in writing, which I guess may be the Same reason that I have not heard from you Since

(1) The auction of William Bagnold's effects. See Letter LXXXVII.

my last,(1) Which hope you received and therein my thanks for your Care in providing those things I desired of you, which that they are not yet received I Cannot Impute in the least to any defect on your part, but that it might be Some punctilio, (2) Either that he with whom you left them [line illegible] If you Suppose there may doubts be [illegible] them Concerning the proceed of those things hither, that you would by the next to Hugly cleer [? them] And be pleased, if it be in your power to Effect it, that they may Come downe by the first Conveyance, which when it may be is uncertain, for the ketch *Arrivall* (3) that was first Ordred downe is now forbidden On [*sic*] fear of the Dutch, The ne[ws] of whose transactions both here in In[dia] and Eu]rope will, I suppose, Come to yo[u by] other Conveyances. So I shall decline [? supply]ing you with any thing of that nature.

Your most ready fri[end to] serve you

THO: PACE

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant In Cassambazar

LETTER XCIX.

Edward Reade to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3777.)

Ramsundrapore (4) April 10th 1673.

Mr Richard Edwards

Esteemed Good friend,

I met yours of the 1st Current in this place, and should be very glad to heare oftner from you and readily serve you in any thing, and am sorry you are not acquainted with the Cossids departure.

I am glad you had the Toby (5) and will make good for it 4 r. to Mr Bangolds small account, and though that evened ours then, yet I am now in your debt and likely to bee more, you haveing, I thanke you, sent me strings and promised to get the ps. silke ready, for cost whereof please to order which way you will be satisfyed and it shall be done, and at all times a greater Summ disbursed to serve your occasions here.

(1) See Letter XCIII.

(2) Petty formality.

(3) One of the Company's sloops which plied up and down the Hugli river between the factories of Balasor and Hugli.

(4) Ramchandrapur, the Ramchundapour of Rennell's 'Atlas of Bengal' (1778). It was situated about 25 miles east of Hugli, and seems now to be represented by the Raghunatpur of the India Atlas (1907).

(5) Jug or mug.

Mr Clavell desiers to bee remembered to you and bids mee tell you he is almost bare footed, and the Slippers now sent Mr Gylliam (1) puts him in mind of it. My respects unto you is all now from

Your loveing friend to Serve you

EDW: READE

[Endorsed] For Mr Richard Edwards

Merchant In Cassumbuzar

LETTER C.

Edmund Bugden to Richard Edwards.

(O.C. 3780.)

Hugly, 13th April 73.

Mr Richard Edwards

Respected Friend,

Yours of the 3d current with the 2 pr. Cott strings and six breeches strings, have received, for which and the trouble of my Shooes makeing, returne you hearty thankes for, giveing you Credit for them.

I have received of Mr Peacock only 35 ru. as yet. When receive more, shall, according to your order, if finde proffit, lay it out and remit it you. Pepper is here 16 r. Per remit it you. Pepper is here 16 r. Per maund, Copper 40 ru., Tinn, hear of none come in this Mallacca ship that is come of the Dutch; Copper little; Tutanauge, (2) a Quantity, which beleeve may be Procured for 34 ru., which if you desire, I will Procure.

The good news, thankes be to God, wee have received in breife fro' Coast, but not without some bad, (3) shall not rehearse to you, knowing, if you have it not fro' Ballasore, Mr Vincent hath, so you will have it, and hope ere long more largely fro' your residence, By way of Agra; so with mine and Wifes. kinde respects to you, I remain

Yours to his power

EDMD. BUGDEN

My kinde respects to Mr M l &ca freinds.

[Endorsed] To Mr Richard

Merchant In Cassambazar

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(1) Stephen Gylliam (whose name is variously spelt Guillym, Guilyam, Gwillham, and Gwilliams) was elected writer on the 24th Oct. 1671. He fell a victim to the epidemic of June to September, 1677.

(2) Port. *tutenaga*, spelter.

(3) Bugden seems to be referring to the victory claimed by the English at Southwold Bay, the bad news being the loss of the *Royal James* and death of the Earl of Sandwich.

[*To be continued.*]

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—XV.

No. 531.

CALCUTTA

28th June 1777.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

Your letters by Mr. McIntosh I have received; the particular acknowledgment of these I must defer to a time of more leisure. Mr. Cator offered me his services with the greatest cheerfulness, but the precariousness of my own situation and the extensive money engagements I have in this country convinced me, his services here in the adjustment of my affairs would be much more to my interest than the execution of the commission with which you wish me to entrust him—a settlement of Sir George Colebrooke's debt and mortgage. Under whatever disadvantages a settlement may be made with Sir George I shall consider any settlement preferable to a state of uncertainty and expectation. While prospects were open to me in this country it was not so very necessary for me to be ascertained of the means I had, but as my prospects are now closed, in prudence I ought to know what fortune I have to depend upon, and not build on hopes which disappointed, would subject me to distress and the mortification of shrinking from the sphere of life I might engage in on my arrival in England. Influenced by these sentiments I have desired Cator to write his brother Sparkes which letter with mine to Mr. Wm. Bensley I enclose and request you will submit without the least reserve to that gentleman all the papers you hold relative to the mortgage and act in it so may appear to him most prudent and consonant to my wishes. Bensley is a man of good sense and excellent judgment, rigidly just and warm in his friendship, and such is the opinion I entertain of him that I would not scruple to commit to him the whole charge of my fortune upon the security of his own honor, so implicit a confidence have I in his probity.

I am, my dear Sister, Your Friend and Brother

No. 532.

CALCUTTA,
28th June 1777.

TO WILLIAM BENSLEY, ESQR.

Dear Bensley,

The dependence I place in your friendship bids me call it into action on a pecuniary occasion that will probably demand both address and management in the settlement. My sister who will send you this letter will furnish you with every information, and Mr. Sparkes, Cator's brother-in-law, I make no doubt, will readily assist you in extricating me from my sister's engagements with Sir George Colebrooke. Keep in your mind that I wish at any rate to be freed from Sir George, whether it shall be by foreclosing his mortgage 1st. selling or getting and 2nd. keeping possession of the West India Estates or 3rd. by compromise upon immediate payment of a certain sum to acquit Sir George of his whole debt. One of these three alternatives I beg may be obtained for a state of uncertainty and expectation which is of all states the most perplexing when a man's propects close upon him, and he wishes to know for a certainty what means he has to depend upon for the remainder of his life.

Dear Bensley, Your sincere Friend.

P. S. Enclosed is Cator's letter to Mr. Sparkes

No. 533.

CALCUTTA,
The 28th June 1777.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

The accompanying papers will present you with a scene, which for violence and precipitation is not to be parallelled in the annals of Bengal, and yet I make no doubt but Clavering will find partizans to justify and palliate his conduct, and to condemn Hastings for resenting the boarish insult and indignity offered to him, on an occasion that demanded atleast all the kindness and attention the General could possibly shew to him. I hope however that His Majesty, his Minister, and every thinking independent man in the kingdom, will feel a just indignation at the unprovoked unmerited treatment H. has received, and condemn his adversary and applaud his temper and moderation. Few men could have stood so severe a trial or

could have been so collected under a provocation of such magnitude. Firm, decided and just in every measure, he may challenge the severest test to which his enemies shall subject his conduct throughout the whole of this extraordinary attempt to turn him out of his office and debase him in the eyes of the people of the country. I will not deviate into observations on the absurdity and folly of Clavering's assumption of Hastings's office upon the Directors' acceptance of McLeane's letter intimating that he was authorized and empowered by Mr. H. to declare it was his wish to resign the Government. Those will strike every body, and their feelings will revolt at a procedure so unjustifiable and unwarranted, nor can the sophistry of Francis, nor can the subtlety of the best pens employed to gloss the action, alter its nature or do away that malignant spirit which clearly marks it.

Opposed to the usurpation of the Government by General Clavering, I know it will be objected, for it has been objected here that H. and my act declaring his offices vacated is to the full as unjustifiable as was General Clavering's precipitation in seizing on the Chair. The Judges' letter of the 24th instant will be urged against us. But with deference to their opinion and advice they must excuse me if I think the legality of our act cannot be controverted, and that it was rendered unavoidable by preceding circumstances. General Clavering declares and Mr. Francis assents that the place and office of Senior Member of the Council and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces are vacant both in their proclamation recorded in their proceedings of the 20th instant. expressly naming myself, Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler as the three Senior Members of the Council, and in their resolution ordering all Military returns to be made to the Governor-General, until a person shall be appointed by the Company to the Office of Commander-in-Chief of the Forces. These public acts which declare the place and office of General Clavering to be vacated, are the deliberate voluntary acts of Clavering and Francis, acts which we could not controvert and which neither those gentlemen nor Mr. H. and myself could cancel, because not one of the provisions in the Act of the 13th of his present Majesty gives to us any such power. Whatever then may have been our conduct in deference to the interposition of the Gentlemen of the long robe, no acts of ours can confer legal right on General Clavering to discharge the functions of the place and office he lately held. For having once relinquished them he can neither reassume them himself, nor have we any legal powers under the Act to restore him to them. Our concession to the advice of the Judges in admitting him to our Councils, and allowing him to act as Commander-in-Chief consequently gives no legality to his vote, nor will it make legal any measure carried into execution by a majority given by such vote, for from the instant of his unwarrantable attempts to wrest the Government from Mr. H., who was in legal possession

of it, and the several acts by which he himself declared his own place and office vacated, he became a private gentleman, nor can his sitting at the Board by permission, and delivering his opinions make him a legal Member of the Government. In this difficulty it has been my opinion in concurrence with Sir E. Impey's and Mr. H's. that he should for the present determine to keep the Chair, wait the advices daily expected from England, and if those will allow him to preserve his place, he is warranted and justified by the extravagant acts lately committed, and the legal incapacity of Clavering to succeed him to continue in the administration of the Government not only warranted and justified, but that it will be expected and looked for.

Whatever may be the general opinion of the disposition of the Judges, am certain that three out of four are under the influence of strong prepossessions of what may result from the powerful interests of Clavering, and I am convinced in my own mind the operation of such influence will appear upon every future occasion we shall give them to interpose with their advice, but as it is the obvious interest of the three to preserve H. and me if possible to keep from themselves the instant effects of Clavering's resentments, or of a servile prostitution of their trust to his malignant pursuits, they will naturally vindicate our legal rights against measures glaringly wrong, and which if permitted to crush us would leave them without any check in the Government or counterpoise to the vindictive spirit with which all the powers of Government would be turned against them.

Enclose in addition to the public papers a short sketch of the transactions from the 20th to the 25th inclusive drawn by Hastings.

I am, My Dear Sister, Your Friend and Brother.

P. S. Communicate to all my friends and interest all in H. and my cause. R. B.

P. S. What I hint of the Judges must be cautiously spoken of. R. B.

No. 534.

CALCUTTA,
The 29th June 1777.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

In addition to the papers I have already sent I judge it necessary to furnish you with extracts from our Consultations of the 13th and 17th relative to the appointments of Mr. Shakespear and the cancelling of that appointment on the receipt of our private letters by the *Rippon* advising us of Col. McLeane's act. The cancelling Mr. Shakespear's appointment is a proof so convincing that Mr. Hastings was determined to regulate himself by the

advice and engagements of his friends that no imputation can be fixt on him for the deviation to which he has since been compelled by the extravagant acts of Clavering. His resignation was to be voluntary and from himself. It was proposed as a conciliating and healing measure, but by peculiar fatality it has only been productive of insult to him personally and alarm to every man in the most distant degree connected with him. For the present therefore he keeps his office, though as yet he is not resolved whether to continue and wait the answer from England on the subject of the late transactions or leave the country by one of the ships of this present season. In this he is determined to be guided by the most deliberate and prudential considerations, and whatever may be the consequences to himself nothing he says shall influence him to commit the honor of his friends in any engagements they shall have ratified on his behalf; their honor he shall scrupulously respect under all circumstances, and though he thinks himself and them for the present justified by Clavering's attempt to force him from his office to continue in it, yet he will not persevere in this opinion if the intelligence he may receive from his friends shall give him cause to alter it hereafter.

I am, My Dear Sister, Your Friend and Brother.

P. S. I expect by Saturday next to get a Decree against Keworke for the payment of the money on his engagements.

Sketch of Transactions from 20th to 25th June, 1777 drawn by Mr. Hastings.

The shortness of the period in which I must close my Europe dispatches, has obliged me to employ an auxiliary hand to acquaint you of the wonderful revolutions that have occurred since the arrival of the *Rippon's* unlucky dispatches: and this imperfect abstract shall be filled up and explained by the first future opportunity. On the 19th instant the mysterious Packet was opened in Council. To the General Letter was annexed a Postcript with information that Mr. McLeane had addressed the Court of Directors acquainting them that he was authorized, empowered and directed by me to intimate my desire to resign: that the Court of Directors had unanimously resolved to accept of my resignation, and had appointed Mr. Wheler to fill up the vacancy which would consequently be made in Council. The General Letter enclosed copies of Mr. McLeane's address, of the Directors' petition to the King for his approbation, of Mr. Wheler's appointment: of an official assent from Lord Weymouth, of the Instrument of approbation under the Royal Sign Manual and of the Court of Directors' Commission to Mr. Wheler. The Council broke up after reading the Dispatches. Friday the 20th was regularly appropriated to the Revenue Board which I summoned accordingly as usual.

But the General about 10 o'clock in the morning issued a summons in his own name as Governor-General to the other Members for an extraordinary General-Council to be held that day to receive from me the charge of the Government, the keys of the Fort and Treasuries, etc., and at the same time wrote me a letter to inform me of his intentions and absolutely requiring that my resignation shall take place that day. About 11 o'clock he and Mr. Francis met at the General-Council Table, Mr. Barwell and myself at the Board of Revenue. The General immediately proceeded to take the official oaths as Governor-General and to deliberate and preside at the Board in that capacity. As soon as I was fully informed of this, I requested the Judges to attend at the Revenue Board to consult upon the subject, and give me their opinion. They met me immediately but to no purpose; for the General had previously gotten possession of the Europe dispatches, and refused to deliver them up, though twice required by our Secretary in publick letters and afterwards by Mr. Barwell in person, who was informed by the General sitting as Governor-General that he might take his seat as a Member of that Board, and hear them read, but that they should not be put into his possession. I however assured the Judges in writing that if upon inspection of the papers they should judge that any act of mine had passed from whence my actual resignation could be deduced, I would immediately vacate the Chair. The General and Mr. Francis (sitting as a complete Council and delivering opinions and framing orders and resolutions as such) after having noticed that our requisition of the Europe dispatches was for the purpose of enabling the Judges to form an opinion upon the subject, wrote a joint letter to the Bench in which they stated their claims as indubitably and immovably grounded upon the authorities contained in the General Letter, copies of which they enclosed: and though not by any means referring the matter to their decision or offering to abide by their determination, agreed to suspend the execution of their orders as a Council till the Judges had given their opinion: expressly requesting that they would deliberate by themselves apart, without the conjunction of Mr. Barwell or himself. The Judges met the same evening and were most decisively and unanimously of opinion that any assumption of the Chair by General Clavering would be illegal. This opinion they delivered in a separate letter to each party, but in the same strong terms and in the fullest manner to both. Upon this the General and Mr. Francis wrote them a letter agreeing to acquiesce in their judgment. On Monday we continued to meet by adjournment from Friday, but without Mr. Francis, who neither came nor apologized for his absence. After perusal of the whole Proceedings and Minutes of General Clavering's Illegal Board held on Friday we were clearly of opinion that the General by taking the oaths as Governor-General and by his several other acts and declarations as such, had actually

vacated his seat of Senior in Council and his post of Commander-in-Chief, and we entered it accordingly in separate Resolutions to each point, causing immediate notice of these resolutions to be signified to the General by our Secretary, and a copy of our whole Proceedings as soon as it could be made out. He and Mr. Francis now addressed the Judges again in two successive letters, one on the same day attempting to refute the arguments which had been used by the Judges in proof of my non-resignation: and another early the next morning desiring their judgment upon our resolutions concerning the vacation of General Clavering's offices. This latter address met a more favorable answer than their first letter: and the Judges offered it as their opinion that we had no legal power to declare this vacancy, and advised a compromise. We met in Council the next day and agreed in the words dictated by the Judges, to recede from the execution of our resolutions of the preceding morning: referring our several claims to England for decision, but not acting here in consequence of or in conformity to those claims: but consented in the mean time to leave every thing in the state in which it stood before the arrival of the dispatches. I shall contrive by the first opportunity to put into your hands the whole proceedings* of this extraordinary Board, as the best comment upon the nature of the action and the temper of the actors.

What the future line of my conduct will be it is not possible for me to determine, until I shall have received the information which I hourly expect by the *Princess Royal*, as that ship sailed from England two months after the *Rippon*. But from all that is at present before me, I think myself clearly absolved from abiding by Mr McLeane's offer of resignation. I shall however act with the utmost caution and prudential regard both to my own public duty and to his honours. At all events it is impossible I should resign in favor of General Clavering, who having vacated his own seat to thrust himself unwarrantably into mine, has certainly at the present moment no legal right to be a Member of the Board, as the act has made no provision for his returning to his seat. Nor can the King himself give him the Government in prejudice to Mr. Barwell, who is now the only legal successor to the Chair upon my quitting it.

No. 535.

CALCUTTA
29th June 1777

To HENRY SAVAGE, ESQR.

Dear Sir,

Short as the time is that is allowed me for my Europe dispatches I must express my acknowledgements for the uniform support you have been pleased

* These Proceedings have been reprinted in full in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. xii, pp. 1—31.

to give me during the long and violent contest I have been engaged in. This contest I was in hopes would have been over long since, and that I should have found Hastings and myself firmly established or removed from our seats. But the persecution of our adversaries force me into fresh disputes and by a strange fatality and the very measures which our friends judging no doubt for the best adopted to secure peace and union to this Government, have only served to expose Hastings to fresh insults and to produce the most dangerous convulsions in this State. The dispatches in consequence of Col. McLeane's letter to the Directors arrived the 19th, were read and recorded. The Governor had summoned a Council of Revenue for the next day and had actually gone thither when General Clavering sent a formal and peremptory demand to deliver up the keys of the Fort and Treasuries and without further ceremony usurped the name and office of Governor-General, summoned a Council, took the oaths and being previously joined by Mr. Francis, assumed and begun to exercise all the rights and functions of the Governor's Office. I instantly united myself to Mr. Hastings to assert his rights. The situation was extremely critical and alarming; two parties each formed of an equal number of the Members of the Board claiming the Government of India, sitting in separate Councils and separately issuing orders. In this conjuncture Mr. Hastings and I endeavoured to pursue such measures as were most likely to bring this important question to a speedy issue. As the majority of the Board and the legal Government we immediately sent orders to the Army and to the Civil Servants prohibiting them from acting but under us, and at the same time we submitted the legality of our Proceedings and Mr. Hastings's rights to the Judges, who the morning following gave an opinion unanimously in our favor. Happy for this country the opinion of the Judges was founded on grounds so incontrovertible that it carried conviction with it, settled men's minds and thus prevented the fatal effects of a doubtful and disputed title. The General finding his pretensions unsupported was obliged for the time to acquiesce, but continued still to question the opinion of the Judges and to urge the reasons on which he deemed himself to be legally and virtually Governor-General of Bengal. After the most deliberate consideration Hastings and myself as the majority of the Board resolved that General Clavering having assumed the office and taken the oaths of Governor-General had vacated his place as Second in Council, and that he could not therefore be admitted to a seat at the Board nor continued in the command of the Army, being incapacitated both by his own acts and declarations and by those dangerous and illegal pretensions which were ready to involve the Settlement in civil bloodshed. At the mediation and request of the Judges we have been induced to recede from and to suspend the immediate execution of

these resolutions, and have referred them at their recommendation to the decision of the Company. Yet I confess when I reflect on the intemperate measures and character of General Clavering, I am apprehensive of the consequences to this Government. My Friend and Sister will communicate to you the Papers and Proceedings which relate to this unwarrantable and illegal attempt to wrest the Government from Hastings. To you I need make no reflections on this extraordinary transaction—your own judgment will suggest them to you. I trust this last and most daring attack of Clavering's will meet with that reception which it deserves, and that my conduct on this occasion will be honoured by you with that approbation and support to which I am already under such great obligations.

I am, Dear Sir, Your most humble servant.

No. 536.

CALCUTTA,
The 17th July 1777.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

Madam,

I have the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Barwell this day obtained judgment against Coja Kiworke Simon and Coja Muhaib Sarkis on their two bonds for Arcot Rupees twenty thousand six hundred and fifty six and twelve annas (Ar. 20656—12—0) each with interest at 12 per cent. per ann. 20 October next one to be calculated from June and the other from July 1774 when they were dated, which I think will establish Mr. Barwell's rights in law to the claim he made on those Armenians, which has been a subject of so much and so long a contest as will justify him to the impartial world. You may safely rely on the truth of the above information, however for your greater satisfaction I have applied for a certificate of the judgment attested by the proper officer of the Supreme Court of Judicature which if obtained in time shall go enclosed with this. I have only to add that this business would have been legally decided many months before had it not been for the base treatment Mr. Barwell received from his own lawyer.

I am, Madam, Your most humble servant.

J. CATOR

P.S. As I cannot get the certificate in time enough, and lest by waiting this should be too late for the man-of-war soon to leave Madras I must add

for your information that I was present in court at the trial and heard the Chief Justice pronounce judgment in favor of your Brother. J. C.

Prothonotary's Office.

Purron Paul
v.
Coja Goworke Simon
and Muhaib Sarkies

I do hereby certifye that this cause came on to be tried the 9th day of July last and thus judgment was given for the plaintiff for Arcot cotick chellan rupees fifty seven thousand six hundred and thirty two, two annas and three pice together with costs of suit.

JARRETT,
Plaintiff's Attorney
August 12th 1777.

(Signed) R. LITCHFIELD
Prothonotary

No. 537.

CALCUTTA,
The 30th August 1777.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

Before this reaches you Mr. Hastings's political fate will possibly be decided; he thinks it *probable*; I am not of that opinion, for it is certain to me, a confidence is placed in the act of Colonel McLeane. Of course it is barely possible that he may experience an event I have no idea of. His letter to the Court of Directors (enclosed) at the same time that it does justice to the zeal and friendship of McLeane speaks the feelings of a man sensibly injured by an irregular act proceeding from kindness, an act that could have been influenced solely with a view to his service and calculated entirely to shield him from the oppressive hand of power. What consequences may result from Hastings refusing to ratify the act of resignation I cannot conjecture; it is not my intention to await them; my personal attachments will not allow me to act a hostile part to Hastings, but as I hold my station from those who have a right to command my services I deem myself in honor bound to render them or relinquish the post their favor had conferred upon me. Let what will occur, for my part I am determined to be ministerial; nothing shall make me act against this principle but the necessary defence of my own character. Blessed with sufficient competence I have no inducement to sacrifice my quiet and peace of mind to foolish chimeras, besides what rational expectation can I form by adopting a different principle of action? In these sentiments you will not be surprized at my resolve to leave this scene. I propose to quit it some time in February or March unless the event that Hastings expects, his removal from the Government,

detains me. In that case I shall be at liberty to take the line I have prescribed to myself, if the General will permit me to do it, but of this I have my doubts, for his personal animosities are so inveterate that I am apprehensive he will drive me to act the very part I would avoid, for defend myself I must from his attacks and in that case I hope even the General's friends will acquit me. At this moment General Clavering is lying at the point of death, but his death will make no alteration in my determination, unless Hastings should be removed, for I am convinced he will not resign, as the letter he now sends disclaiming the act of McLeane dispatched against my sentiments. I say against my sentiments because I observed to him, I saw no benefit it could produce, and as he had delayed it so long I recommended him to wait till he received further advices from Europe; to this he replied, the delay would be construed into a tacit ratification of the act of resignation, and it was absolutely necessary he should disclaim it to remove the odium with which he is burthened. There is reason in what he urges, and had he peremptorily determined upon it before the General was taken ill, I should not have regarded it as I now do—an act to bind himself to keep the Chair and to preclude my forming any pretensions to it, in the propriety of his voluntary vacation of it to me. You will possibly ask me under this persuasion what can bias me to draw with Hastings who seems so little disposed, tottering as he is, to promote my object. Hastings with all his abilities is the dupe of his own wishes, he flatters himself with the absurdest speculations, and I cannot direct him from his hopes, while a possibility against a probability remains of their being answered. It is true I might unite and drive him from his station, but that would brand me with infamy, and subject me to the same knavish treatment from the very men I united with and that too deservedly. You will therefore see your brother by this year's shipping; he cannot quit his station at a better time. Assist Hastings's friends and believe me ever,

My dear Sister, Your faithful Friend and affectionate Brother.

No. 538.

CALCUTTA,

The 13 Septembur, 1777.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

This packet is for the express purpose of conveying official information of the death of General Clavering; he died on a Saturday, a day become remarkable in the annals of Bengal and to which the superstition of the

people has given a most malignant influence to his cause and a happy one to Hastings. Yes, says the Hindoo. Maharaja Nuncomar was committed to prison a Saturday; he was condemned to death on a Saturday and he was hanged on a Saturday. Col. Monson died on a Saturday and General Clavering died on a Saturday and what is more remarkable they all three died in the Month of Bhadra (between the 15 of our August and 15 September.) Whether it is so or not I have not examined; the idea is general and being universally received, I take it for granted; such is one of the peculiarities of these people, a trait of national character which I shall leave to *your* Philosophers to discuss and proceed to the probable consequences on the politics and manœvres of this country. Hastings my former letter (of which a duplicate is enclosed) tells you had taken his line and with great solicitation now hastens these dispatches in the hope the news will fix the Government in his hands. I am of a different opinion. Ministry will never trust the man whose agent has so egregiously duped them; whether from design or real misapprehension of the extent of his powers is immaterial; he binds their hands while his principal declares himself at liberty and disclaims the act; that was the fine of their forbearance. It is true as things have fallen out McLeane has duped the Ministry, but if I may judge from honors to Clavering the game was played against McLeane, and had Clavering lived I make no doubt he would have shown by his subsequent as well as late actions the little merit given to the act of supposed resignation, provided or decided otherwise and has thus changed the political aspect. I perceive many powerful reasons to determine Hastings to keep his seat. They do not however outweigh the necessity I think there is for his returning to England, but the charms of his station bear down all considerations, and I cannot blame him in trusting to the chapter of accidents, a chapter productive of changes the most fortunate and important to him in these last three years of his Government. I shall be disappointed I own if he does not go home, but I am doubtful whether my being left in possession of the Government, or my leaving Mr. Hastings in it, will be of most advantage to me. In the first case I shall be engaged in a scene of perpetual contest because it will be supposed by Francis who steps on my heels that I am obnoxious to Ministry and shall not be supported if I go home without resigning my place in the Council. I may stand a chance of making friends and fixing a dependence on the Court should I be allowed to return, and if I am not allowed to return or named in the new Commission, yet by not resigning I shall draw my salary, and by leaving the scene in India show the Minister how unmerited the treatment I have received and how undeserving I am of future persecution. My object is to serve the public if I may with honor, or retire from the bustle and withdraw myself *totally, completely* from the

hurry of business. It may therefore be happier for me if Hastings adheres to his resolution, and I take my departure which in that case I certainly shall do by the February or March ships and sink into oblivion, for in England I am resolved I never will step forward. I will serve my Friends if I can, but I will not sacrifice my peace of mind and the ease for which I have toiled, in a ridiculous round of Political Folly. Some certain points ought to bind the pursuits of every rational thinking being, but we observe mankind in general with all the contentment in their power, disregard the blessing, and be cursed by the very good that ought to be promotive of their happiness—ever pursuing—never possessing—advancing from object to object and miserable by every acquisition they make in this life. Says Reason—I blush and answer it has been mine—declare amendment. But are fixt habits so easily shaken off? No. Yet a man who climbs a height will be careful how he trusts a ladder again. I shall therefore leave with this country all the chimeras I once entertained and be content and humble. You, my *true and last Friend*, will not, I hope condemn these sentiments though probably repugnant to the activity of your mind and the pleasure it enjoys in combating difficulties. Suppose Hastings resigns, in that case I may stay a twelve month: longer I do not propose unless assured and convinced of finding that support of which at present I have no idea, and even so circumstanced, a timely retreat will have my consideration, to gratify my successor and ensure his support of my measures after my departure. It is the general fault of those who are advanced to power, that if they do not relinquish it, it will be taken from them; the dominion of beauty is the same; time undermines its influence, but such is the sweetness of its sway few can relinquish it and retain respect. Although I am determined on returning to you this season, take no notice of it to any one, because I mean not to resign my place before I reach England, and because should fortune give me any thing worthy my acceptance I would not scruple to return from Saint Helena or the Cape to take possession of it. I observe in your letters the obligation I am under to Sullivan—cultivate his friendship, he is worthy even in his broken fortunes and so sensible am I of his merit that it would give me great pleasure to contribute my mite in promoting his pursuits whatever those may be. The only caution I suggest is circumspection in loans of money. McLeane and Sir G. Colebrooke always before you and allow not my wish or your own warmth of sentiment to transport you to the same confidence. Sullivan's is a precarious life, and if report is true he cannot be much if any thing above the world. There is a rumour here of administration being enclosed to give me a retreat in the Government of Fort St. George, and it has been suggested a trick to set Rumbold against me on the ballot of Directors when fortune decided.

in my favour. I know not whence the report sprung, but of this I am certain the Minister could not have fixt his choice on any man who would more gratefully have received his favours, on whom he could have more depended, or who would have been more zealous to have done justice to his nomination.

I shall take another opportunity to treat on what you write me of money matters, my fortune reflect is not large though at your command even to the stating of my own wishes.

Adieu, your ever affectionate Friend and Brother.

No. 539.

CALCUTTA,

The 16th September 1777.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

I have engaged to lend Mr. Charles Lloyd forty six thousand Arcot rupees equal to forty nine thousand six hundred and eighty current rupees to run at respondentia. Upon the ship *True Boston Barken* about 450 tons Alexander Smart Commander she will carry about 12 four Pounders and about 60 men bound to the Malabar Coast, Mocha and Suez and is expected to sail in all November or the beginning of December next. I am therefore to request you will immediately have that property insured from this place to Grand Cairo at the rate of two shillings and three pence per current rupee as Mr. Lloyd is to allow me the respondentia premium till the money is paid to my Agent at Grand Cairo. When the respondentia bond is executed I will transmit you a copy of it.

I am, My Dear Sister, Your Friend and Brother

No. 540.

CALCUTTA,

The 22nd November 1777.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE EARL OF SANDWICH, &C., &C., &C.,

My Lord,

I am extremely obliged by your letter of the 27th October 1776. The politeness with which you condescend to point my deviation from the line of your connections and friends increases the debt I already owe to your

patronage, and unhappy as I may be to find myself involved in any great question that deprives me of your lordship's immediate countenance and support, the circumstances under which I act will I flatter myself on every occasion justify me to your lordship, and plead through you my excuse to the Minister. When the Act for the better regulating the affairs of the India Company abroad and at home, was received by me in February 1774, all my letters strongly inculcated the necessity of my uniting with Mr. Hastings and indeed prescribed it to me as a condition stipulated by my Lord North for my admission to a seat in the council, the consequences that have attended *my compliance* with this injunction as well as the injunction itself are within your lordship's knowledge and I submit to judgment how far the principle of action I have invariably professed is impeached thereby, and how far vindicated; my declarations are uniform, my conduct consistent, but my fortune is perverse. My most confidential friends know and your lordship is not uninformed that I esteem myself bound in honor "to follow that system with regard to the affairs of the Company in which your lordship and the rest of the King's Ministers have originally embarked". My acceptance of the honorable appointment conferred on me implied as much, and I stood engaged from that moment to give my services to my country in the line that might be laid down by those who had the special charge of its interests and from whom I immediately received my trust.

Your lordship's observation that those who have any regard to their "reputation must act with their friends" and the hope you express "that with Mr. Hastings's resignation all differences will subside and have it in your power hereafter, etc., etc.," impresses me with the highest sense of your candour, and while it reflects lustre on your character flatters me with the expectation of being allowed to merit your protection and to act under the friends of Government, but be that as it may I shall not openly or clandestinely traverse any measures that may be proposed by the King's Ministers. If my knowledge can be useful I shall very readily devote my services, and if it cannot, I shall as readily resign my office, and I am willing to hope, without being followed by the persecuting spirit of vindictive folly. The first duty incumbent on every man of honor is the preservation of his honor, and as my life is staked and shall ever be staked for its support, an attack on my character will impose upon me the unpleasant necessity I have already been subjected to and supersede all other obligations, for should the door I wish to enter be shut against me I must look for shelter to the mansion that is hospitably open to receive me.

My dependence, my Lord, on you requires I should be explicit. My word was pledged to your lordship and I appeal to your judgment whether I could in honor or with propriety, decline the part I took in the extravagant acts

consequent to the advices that spoke of Mr. Hastings's proposed resignation. The mad project of assuming the Government formed by Sir John Clavering on the ground of Mr. Hastings's being to resign it. I could not countenance; the hostility of such a proceeding independent of the violence and absurdity of the measure condemns itself; and I am happy to think the precautions taken to preclude any attempt on the Military was so far successful as to force the decision on the gentlemen of the long robe and oblige the General to submit to reason; with great reluctance I refer to the joint minutes of Sir John and Mr. Francis on the occasion In those the rights and supremacy of the Government are strongly opposed to the clear and express decision of the law and plainly show that had not the sword been wrested from their hands the dangerous lengths to which this extravagant act might have led. I do not enter into detail as it would exceed the bounds of a letter, and I am still to speak to a fact, which I have heard objected to Mr. Hastings as equal in violence and absurdity to the assumption of the Government by Sir John Clavering—"The declaring Sir John's seat as a Member of the Council-General vacated by his own acts" and "thereupon declining for two subsequent succeeding days to request his presence at the Board". General Clavering and Mr. Francis in their turn now appealed to the Judges and stating the exclusion of General Clavering as an act of the majority, the law instantly pronounced that no act of a majority could deprive any member of his seat etc., etc. As Mr. Hastings's object was simply the vindication of his own rights, he instantly admitted the advice and recommendation of the Judges, and expressed himself obliged by the part they had taken to heal the distractions that had prevailed, without urging a word to justify the exclusion of Sir John, or stating the real fact, in opposition to the partial appeal that had been made to them or submitting to them any papers that might have influenced them to decline their interposition, for had papers been called for submission, the question would have totally changed and instead of the case being put, whether a majority could *legally deprive* a Member of the Council-General of his seat, it would have been whether, a majority could *legally readmit* to his seat a Member of the Council-General who had himself formally and voluntarily declared on record his place vacated. That it was so declared I refer your lordship to the record itself. You will there find the names of Mr. Barwell, Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler the *three first Councillors* of the Government, and this followed by a joint resolution of Sir John and Mr. Francis ordering all military returns and detail of the army to be made to the *Governor-General* till the office of Commander-in-Chief vacated by the promotion of Sir John Clavering should be filled by the Court of Directors. I am sensible, my Lord, of all that can be advanced against the vote of the majority declaring a

vacancy occasioned in the Council by the acts of General Clavering. It will be argued that both the acts of General Clavering were so combined and blended as to make them inseparable, that though the act of assumption would have created a vacancy had it taken effect, yet the vacating his office was a consequence, not a previous act, and therefore under the circumstances it was made could not be binding on General Clavering. This is the utmost that can be said to condemn the vote declaring the vacancy; yet Sir John vacated his seat in express terms; to attempt the place and office held by another and in this dilemma, your lordship must determine whether his readmission was not an act of grace, whether the interposition of the Bench was not necessary, and whether the instant acquiescence of Mr. Hastings without starting a difficulty is not clearly expressive of his disposition to pass the subject over the first opportunity that was afforded him. Thus far I stand engaged with Mr. Hastings and no further; for I neither advised nor united with him on the disavowal of Mr. McLeane's act. My name it is true is introduced by Mr. Hastings and properly so far as my knowledge reaches that he gave to Mr. McLeane no express authority for making the resignation in his name. That it was the intention of Mr. Hastings to have ratified the act of his agent, I am as firmly persuaded as any man can be of a thing not positively effected. Satisfied in his own mind of the honor and integrity of his agent, he rightly judged his resignation imposed by a power it would be the highest degree of folly in him to think of opposing, and I am convinced that had not the injury and insult offered by Sir John Clavering compelled him in a manner to keep his place he would long since have vacated it to his competitor. I shall not pretend to decide on the propriety of Mr. Hastings's conduct. Much may be urged in his favour, but as I had all along dissuaded him and begged of him to reserve himself for the personal interveiw Mr. McLean and Mr. Elliot promised him. When he sent me his letter to the Directors I frankly told him I could not approve it, that the necessity for it which he urged did not strike me, that Sir John Clavering lay at the point of death, and as no reasons were offered to enduce me to deviate from the advice I had uniformly given, I was still of opinion he should reserve himself and take no decisive step till he saw the ground more clear before him. The letter however was despatched without my knowledge and within two days of its despatch the General died. This event brought me into a situation that rendered the conduct I had to observe equally delicate and difficult. I found myself precluded and with great reason to imagine (at such a juncture) the act calculated as a bar to my pretensions, but as this might not have been Mr. Hastings's intentions and I conceived him to be released from all obligation to the King's Ministers by the death of Sir John Clavering, I neither expressed a disappointment nor

hinted his resignation. Mr. Elliot has since confirmed these sentiments and the alteration of Mr. Wheler's commission and the choice of General Coote for the command of the forces without any absolute appointment which would have taken place had the measure to exclude Mr. Hastings been determined under all circumstances, leads me to think that in the event of General Clavering's death, the King's Ministers wished to leave Mr. Hastings at liberty to give his services to the public. In this opinion my assistance and support will be continued to Mr. Hastings with the same cordiality it has been heitherto given, and should I have the honor to be approved on your lordship's patronage, I hope the services I may be able to render my country and my steady adherence to the line of conduct that may be prescribed will justify my elevation. I remain, my Lord, with gratitude and respect.

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

No. 541.

CALCUTTA,
23rd Nov. 1777.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

I enclose for your perusal my letter to the Earl of Sandwich, and as I have not time to write Mr. Robinson, be so good as make my apology to him. Tell him I have taken care of Mr. Wordsworth who is fixt at Patna, and that he will do very well if his youth and spirits do not obstruct the end proposed from his journey to the East. He draws the salary at present of more than £ 600. This is as much as can be done till his tatents for business shall allow me to introduce him to the great scene. I have no objection to your submitting the Earl's letter to Mr. Robinson. Your acquaintance and my wish to fix him my firm friend equally influence the confidence I place in his inclination and ability to oblige me.

With this you will receive a copy of my letter to Mr. Wheler.

I am, my dear Sister,
Your affectionate Brother and Friend

No. 542

TO EDWARD WHELER, ESQR.

Sir,

Allow me with Mr. Hastings to repose a confidence in the communications of our mutual friend Mr. Elliott and to refer you to him for those

minute particulars to which the bounds I prescribe my address permits me not to descend. The death of General Clavering is an event that in all probability my Lord North surmised at the period he suggested the change of your first appointment, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion as his lordship had not on the 14th June fixt General Coote on the command of the forces and a seat in the Council, and further I understand it was in contemplation to ground General Coote's nomination on two contingences, the resignation of the Governor-General and the demise of Sir John Clavering not compatible, unless my Lord North designed on the latter contingence to leave Mr. Hastings entirely at liberty to benefit the public by his services, should he continue inclined to render them. Under these circumstances Mr. Hastings still keeps the Chair and finds from me that support which I hope and flatter myself may be strengthened by the weight it must receive when aided by yours. Acquainted, Sir, as you are with the imbecility of the Bengal Government during the existence of the differences that lately prevailed in it, I am sanguine in my expectations of meeting you well disposed to give vigor to its administration and importance individually to all its members, which all must in their degrees lose if distinctions are kept up and allowed to give a bias to our public opinions. That there are still some differences is most certain, but I think you will not find them inveterate, and that they must yield in a little time if not inflammed to a pitch of systematic opposition by encouragement. Independent opinions delivered from fair dispassionate reasoning I anxiously wish may succeed the black volume of party abuse with which the late records are filled. It is this wish that influences me to welcome your arrival, and instead of formal unmeaning compliment, congratulate you on the aid you may lend to heal past defects.

No. 543.

CALCUTTA,
The 23rd Novr., 1777.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

I beg in all you undertake that you will appear convinced of my continuing in India to the end of the commission, for whatever I may design my fortune and connections in this country may render it impossible or improper for me to execute such design, and as the opinion of my throwing up the cards when the game is about to be put into my hands, will divide and distract my friends, never think I am returning till you see me in England and act upon the principle, for even admitting I should at any period have left Bengal an object of importance would bring me back from St. Helena or the Cape of

Good Hope. My finances by your letter appear much distracted, and my fortune in India is nothing, but I shall take another opportunity to expatiate on my money concerns. In the mean time be careful of the means that must enable me to live in England. I enclose copy of my letters to James on Harry's claim who will I hope relinquish his pretentions.

I am, my dear Sister,
Your affectionate Friend and Brother.

No. 544.

CALCUTTA,
The 23rd November, 1777.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER ESQR.

Dear Leycester,

Your letters to the 6th. June last are all received and I esteem myself very much indebted to your care in adjusting upon the best footing with my friend Beaumont's executors the transfer of the stock and bills, etc., he held for my account. My thanks are likewise due for your adjustment with Captain Thompson. I approve entirely the whole transaction, and think myself fortunate in realizing so much from an adventure so long at risk. I beg my compliments to Mr. Sumner for his mediation in the affair and shall be happy on any occasion to return the service he has done me.

I flatter myself you have no reason to be alarmed for your claim on William Barton; he is in some degree emerging from his difficulties, and I will take the first opportunity which I hope will soon offer of giving you full satisfaction. No one shall be paid in preference; in the mean time be satisfied in the expectation of receving the full of your bond.

The principle on which I proposed to settle with Beaumont I am glad I stated so fully to our friend in my letter of extract of which is in your possession; I have this moment applied to the accountant for information respecting the remittances of 1770 and desired him to attest it officially, and as soon as I receive his answer I will state the whole in account which you may depend on receiving by the next ship. When you will make such a settlement with the executors as may come within the principle laid down in the said letter, and further if the executors are inclined to receive in full for the sums still in my hands I shall have no objection to a settlement, but on this you shall have my ideas with the accounts to regulate your negotiation.

I am, Dear Friend, Affectionately and Sincerely Yours.

No. 545.

CALCUTTA,

The 21 November, 1777.

TO JAMES BARWELL, ESQR.

My Dear Brother,

I have received your letter of 22nd March last informing me of the part you had taken to accommodate the difference between our sister and brother. I am extremely concerned an occasion should have arisen to disturb the harmony of friends so dear to us, and I am more distressed because the nature of the controversy involves points of the most delicate nature—the interests of our brother Harry and the rectitude of conduct observed to him by our sister Mary in accounting to him for the fortune bequeathed by our father. I have seen the following papers, *viz*:

1. H. Barwell's case with Mr. Dunning's opinion, on which Harry first grounded his claim.
2. M. Barwell's case drawn up by herself for Mr. Smith's information.
3. Memorandums of M. Barwell to Mr. Smith.
4. M. Barwell's case drawn up by Mr. Smith.
5. H. Barwell's case drawn up by Mr. Blayden.

If there be any other papers which ought to have been perused by me relative to the opinions of Harry and Mary, my friends must impute to the want of such information the insufficiency of my judgment on the differing sentiments they entertain. The simple fact drawn from the papers before me is briefly this:

1. Mary says she received on account of Harry Barwell stock to the amount of 5204,19; that she stood engaged to return this stock of 5204,19, and being so engaged, her return of the stock acquits her of the obligation.

2. Harry urges that the stock having been converted into money, the obligation Mary is bound in, is not to the simple return of so much stock, but of its produce stating as so much money was received of his property, so much money is Mary engaged to pay him.

3. Mary answers to this, she is or she is not bound to return the property (that is the original stock) she received; if she is bound to return it, the return acquits her of the obligation, and if she is not bound to return it, then she will stand simply engaged to account for her management, and that any profit or loss arising from it, will be Harry's, and leaves it to his option, either to accept the *original stock* or the *securities she obtained and now holds on the conversion of such original stock.*

N.B.—By this it seems the stock was transferred to Sir George at the rate for which he gave his securities, and that no money passed through Mary's hands.

4. Harry opposes to this that his interest is *concluded on the conversion of the original* stock and extends no further; the securities taken on the conversion of such original stock being on account of the party converting it into such securities and not on his account.

5. Mary observes on this that being bound to return the original stock, Harry has no interest in the conversion of it by her; or if he has an interest in it, the securities into which it was converted, she is ready and willing to deliver over to him, and as the conversion of the stock *in fact produced her nothing more than the securities she now holds*, she thinks in reason and in equity she cannot be engaged to answer *a claim for what she never had*, that the thing entrusted, (the original stock) or its value to her (the securities into which it was converted) can in justice be only due from her, whereas Harry claims from her a suppositious benefit arising from the convertion of a stock, a benefit she never enjoyed; so far from it, that a loss will probably accrue to her from the conversion of the stock, and is it reasonable and equitable such loss should be rendered heavier by her accounting for an imaginary gain from which she never profited?

The claim made by Harry and the objections opposed by Mary being briefly premised, the following questions are suggested by them.

1st. Whether Mary is accountable for *benefits* she *never desired*, because she *might have derived them* had she not trusted to the securities given by Sir G. Colebrooke to realize those benefits.

2nd. Whether the conversion of a minor's property into securities taken at the pleasure of an executor binds the minor to receive his fortune in the securities so taken.

3rd. Whether it is in the option of a minor when arrived at age, to claim his property in the securities into which it has been converted, or rejecting such securities to insist on the property being returned in its original state.

4th. Whether a minor having rejected the securities into which his fortune was converted, can claim from an executor any thing beyond his estate replaced in the original funds in which it was first lodged.

5th. Whether a minor has a right to make an executor account for all benefits accruing from changing the securities on which his fortune was originally placed, over and above the replacing his fortune in the funds it was originally lodged in.

6th. Whether a minor calling upon an executor to account for any supposed benefit from drawing his fortune out of the funds is not bound to

receive and admit the executor's state of the whole transaction to its final close —or whether he can take a single transaction in *any period* of its *progress* and state it to his own advantage, instead of following that transaction to a conclusion, even though the executor shall be a sufferer on the *whole single transaction.*

7th. Whether an executor is bound, or not bound, to account for an apparent advantage arising in the progress of a transaction, though she benefits not from the apparent advantage and even sustains a loss upon the entire transaction.

8th. Whether one entire transaction of an executor consisting of two parts each part dependent on the other can in equity have those parts deemed distinct transactions. And is the executor responsible for the nominal advantage of one part, and subject to the loss arising on the other, though the two parts in fact compose only one single entire transaction.

Answer to the 1st. In my opinion equity will not decree Mary to account for a benefit she never received.

Answer to the 2nd. I apprehend any conversions of property by executors are at their own risk.

Answer to the 3rd. I conceive it depends on a minor to receive his fortune either the one way or the other.

Answer to the 4th. I believe the replacing a minor's fortune will acquit any executor in equity, unless it should appear in evidence the executor benefited by the management of such fortune and has not accounted for the benefit so derived. Quere, has our sister benefited? If she has it does nowhere appear.

Answer to the 5th. I apprehend an executor is engaged to answer any advantage derived by a change of secureties, but that such advantage must be proved real and not nominal or supposititious.

Answer to the 6th. An executor I presume will be allowed to state an entire transaction, and it must be rejected entire or accepted entire, for equity will never decree a transaction to be separated in its progress to the detriment of an executor.

Answer to the 7th. I do not think an executor is bound to answer an advantage that was never reaped.

Answer to the 8th. I do not think a transaction because it branches into two parts can be deemed two distinct transactions. A single transaction may be composed of many parts, and yet it would be against reason to argue, the component parts, therefore, were all so many distinct transactions. The converting the minor's fortunes into a loan to Sir G. Colebrooke, was certainly no more than a simple transaction the intermediate stages of which cannot at any period be binding on Mary as executor nor can the minor I apprehend

claim on any of the intermediate stages of the progress of this transaction, though they may claim the benefit if there is any on the entire transaction or may reject it if they deem the transaction disadvantageous to them.

I profess, James, it is my wish to give Harry satisfaction to the last farthing of his claim, but such is the nature of Mary's and his opinions that I should be unjust by condemning her on an occasion in which upon fair principles of equity she is right, and yet I may allow Harry some ground for his pretensions, though I confess I cannot reconcile to myself the idea of making a claim on my nearest friends for benefits supposing to arise on the management of my fortune and which benefits were never realized to those friends. If I borrowed a house from a relation and duly accounted for the rent of it and returned it to him at the time he required possession of it, I should think any advantage I might make of it, would in no respect be deemed an injury to my relation. Harry's stock stands in the same predicament; it was simply borrowed for a time. My fortune stood engaged to see it replaced, and it was bona fide return to him when demanded. *My engagement* of which you are possessed is expressed to the point. I bind myself to return the stock of the minors used in the prosecution of my objects in India, and the stock being returned, the obligation I conceive is acquitted. Had I borrowed from you a jewel on the condition of returning it, I should most undoubtedly have discharged my engagement by the return of such jewel, and whatever use I might have made of it while it was in my possession, nor do I suppose you would have thought of asking me to account to you for the use I had made of it, much less have demanded an imaginary profit when in reality I suffered a loss by the use I had made of it. I ask you to decide by your own feelings, whether you would think it kind and considerate in your friend. I ask the same question of my brother Harry for whatever rights he may suppose the strict letter of the law gives him. I flatter myself he has just notions of equity and that he will be satisfied of the conduct of my sister, who in refusing his demand considered simply that no pecuniary benefit had derived to herself or me, and that to have added to the minor's fortunes by decreasing mine, even beyond the loss it is subjected to by the transaction, would have been a hardship. Here I leave the subject and submit to the rectitude of my brother's mind, to relinquish or insist on his claim, his decision must determine my opinion. In the mean time I will wish it to prove such as may gratify my affection and reflect honor upon himself.

I am, dear James, your Friend and Brother.

No. 546.

CALCUTTA,
24th November 1777.

To MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

On reperusing your letter of 4th March last and recurring to what I had written James the 21st inst. copy of which letter is in your possession I judged it necessary to preclude any misinterpretation of my sentiments or intentions to write another of this date which you will deliver to James. The expression "his decision must determine my *opinion*" is merely to be understood *my opinion of the liberality of his mind* and that I wish it such as may gratify my affection and redound to his honor; not that I propose to bind myself to answer his claim if he should be so sordid as to revive it.

I enclose you a letter I wrote McLeane the moment I heard of his arrival on the Coast; I had not then seen Elliot. You may if you please show this letter to McLeane and tell him that since my receiving the advices by the way of Suez and weighing every circumstance relative to Coote's appointment, that I judge it probable the Ministry depended on Hastings's keeping his place in the event of Clavering's death, to whose superior weight alone it was proposed he should give place. In this opinion I conceive myself at liberty to retain my station and shall not quit it, but an intelligence so decisive as to convince me I am under a mistake and that Hastings ought not to continue in the Government. Nor must you think unfavourably of this determination. Rely upon me and be satisfied the obligations are indispensable that keep me in this country and not any punctilio of honor, for diminished as my fortune is it is a duty I owe myself and friends not to leave my property on a precarious footing behind me.

Your Friend and Brother.

No. 547.

CALCUTTA,
24th November 1777.

To JAMES BARWELL, ESQR.

Dear James,

I wrote you under date the 21st of this month touching my brother Harry's claim and gave my opinion decidedly on his rights. Mary has neither acted an unjust nor an unfriendly part by him. In equity he has certainly no claim, though the appearance of an advantage having arisen in

the management of his fortune might have suggested the pretensions he set up. Yet the proofs he has before him that his property borrowed and converted into a loan to Sir G. Colebrooke is intended with a heavy loss, must I conceive satisfy him and make him acquiescent in my decision. My part in this business has been rather awkard, but as it was referred, I have not scrupled to pass my opinion upon it, trusting the confidence that influenced the appeal to me will ensure such opinion a candid and liberal reception. Though I think myself free as well as Mary from such claims as Harry has made and cannot admit them as a right, yet he and all my brothers have in my affection that property in my fortune as may be beneficial to them in promoting the prospects and pursuits in life, but this interest, James, is very foreign to the simple operation of emptying my purse to fill theirs; if their wants called for relief I am willing to flatter myself the liberality of my heart will never be so frozen by the black air of the North as to render me unworthy of their confidence, and when blessed with it, backward in extricating and restoring their affairs. Pray, show Harry my letters. I rely on his justness of thinking to acquit me of unkindness.

Your affectionate Friend and Brother

P.S. This is open under cover to my sister.

No. 548.

CALCUTTA

19th September 1777.

TO LAUCHLIN MACLEANE, ESQR.

Dear Sir,

Understanding a vessel leaves town this morning I snatch a moment to pay my compliments to you. The intelligence of your arrival was as unexpected as it was most welcome to me; perplext, involved and bewildered in conjecture, may I hope to see you here, or am I to satisfy myself with Elliott's communications that I should feel solicitude you will not be surprized. My situation and the scene in which I have been engaged by Mr. Hastings are of so critical a nature that my continuing in India another season must be determined by my knowledge if I can obtain a perfect one, of the English Cabinet. Your honour is my security in this frank declaration and I beg of you in equal confidence to give me your sentiments on my quitting Bengal in February or March next, or continuing to the end of the commission of Government. Clavering's death seems to have smoothed the part Mr. Hastings has taken, though the obstacle still continues of Wheler's nomination which can not be removed but by the resignation of Mr. Hastings.

Now tell me freely, is the resignation so firmly bound by your word and the powers that were privately entrusted to you as to render it an indispensable obligation, because in such case I shall think myself engaged not to countenance a breach of obligation, but to resign my office which is the only proof I have it in my power to give of submission to the higher powers and to evince that I never meant to become a party in measures I could not vindicate. Circumstanced as I am there would be obvious impropriety in my speaking to Mr. Hastings on so delicate a point. His own discernment therefore must be his rule of conduct, and as my line has hitherto been clear and without the least deviation, it shall be so still, for when I can no longer act with him I will not act against him. I wish you to read his letter to the Directors declaring his resolve to hold the Government. It was written without my participation and despatched counter to my sentiments at the time Clavering lay mortally ill. My advice to him was to wait the expected despatches as he had already waited so long, but the necessity he conceived himself under to declare himself by the first opportunity, superseded every other consideration. Having read yours and Elliott's letters relative to the proposed resignation, I was anxious to protract any positive public act that might commit Mr. Hastings, for the distraction occasioned by Clavering's precipitant seizure of the Chair was not to be imputed to Mr. Hastings, nor committed him further than the vindication of his own rights from the usurpation of another. And as to the vacation of Clavering's seat, it was Clavering's own act. He declared himself Governor-General and declared the office of Commander-in-Chief etc., vacant. The act therefore with which M. Hastings and myself are charged—the turning Clavering out of his office, was his own act, and we were no further engaged in it than by publishing it. See the Proceedings of Clavering and Francis as Governor-General and Council and their order directing the commandants of all Military stations to make return to the Governor-General until a Commander-in-Chief shall be appointed by the Court of Directors. I have not time to add more.

I am, Dear Sir, Your Friend and Servant.

No. 549.

CALCUTTA IN BENGAL,
The 30th November, 1777.

TO MESSRS. GEORGE BALDWIN, JOHN ROBINSON AND WILLIAM BROWNE AT GRAND CAIRO IN EGYPT.

Gentlemen,

From the recommendation of several of your friends I take the liberty to trouble you with Mr. Charles Lloyd's respondentia bond in my favour dated

15th instant for principal, Twenty three thousand German Crowns (G. C. 23000) equal to Forty-six thousand Arcot Rupees (A. R. 46000). he received from me here payable at Grand Cairo in Egypt with a premium of 12 percent at or before the expiration of 40 days after the safe delivery of the goods at Grand Cairo, as will fully appear by the said Bond inclosed together with name of the ship and Captain that commands her. This money I lent to Mr. Lloyd with a view to remit the amount to Mrs. Mary Barwell in Great Ormond Street, London, on my account, but as I am a stranger to all negotiations of that sort from Grand Cairo to London, I must leave it to you to take that method that will turn out most to my advantage and therefore rely on you in that particular recommending you to advise Mrs. Mary Barwell for insurance if necessary, as also that she may know when to expect receiving the money. On return of the ships from Suez to Bengal I shall be glad to hear of the success of my adventure and with a tender of my services here, I remain

Gentlemen, Your most obedient humble Servant.

No. 550.

CALCUTTA,

The 2nd December, 1777.

MISS ANNE KEENE.

Madam,

I have received your favor of 17 March, 1777 and in consequence paid Cr. 960 into the Company's Treasury for which sum your account stands charged in my books, and I now enclose you the Governor-General and Council Bill of this date on the Court of Directors for £ 100 in your favor payable at 12 months' sight.

I am, Madam, Your most humble Servant

No. 551.

CALCUTTA,

The 31st December, 1777.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.

Dear Leycester,

I now trouble you with Beaumont's accounts with me as made up and rendered to him from 10th November 1768 to 10th January 1774 whereby a balance of Crs. 114398-11-6 appeared due to him from me. These accounts being three in number are copied on one sheet of paper marked A. You have also on another sheet of paper marked B his account with me from

November 1770 to 1st August 1777 drawn out as if I had remitted his money in my hands by the ships of 1770 through the Company's cash on the same terms that bills were granted to others that season, whereby a balance of Crs. 1526-6-9 appears due to me at foot of which is a statement of what such remittance will yield with interest at 4 per cent. per ann. from the periods the bills would have been payable in London to December 1778 from which I have deducted the balance of Crs. 1526-6-9 at the same rate of exchange. The supposed remittance is calculated when a balance of £ 11738-13-5 remains due to his estate. This I think is a fair way of stating his account and sufficiently compensates for my having omitted to make the remittance at the time the Company's Treasury was open. You are too well acquainted with my loss sustained on taking Chevalier's bills and by remitting home a lack of rupees in bullion in consequence of their not being paid for me to repeat them which I hope you will be able to get some allowance to be made for by Beaumont's representatives. However I rely entirely on you to settle with them in that respect as well as to alter the statement if you think I have made it either in favor of myself or of Beaumont's estate, as you will on receipt of this be furnished with every material that is in my power to give, and I shall be perfectly satisfied with whatsoever sum you may agree to pay on finally settling with Beaumont's representatives, and that I may be quite clear of all claim from them. Hereafter it will be very necessary that his executors and heirs should execute a full and formal release to me which I request you will get drawn up by some good lawyer and if requisite that you will execute a release from me to them, or if they are not satisfied with such release from you as my agent I will execute it if you will send it to me on my being informed from you that they have executed proper release to me. The account marked C. is a continuation of Messrs. Beaumont and Leycester's account with me from the last I received from Beaumont and you made up to 30 November 1775 in which are inserted all the articles that I have knowledge of whereby I make a balance of £85. 4. 6. due to me after paying the bills I draw on you and Beaumont in favor of A. Keir to which I have added at foot the prime cost of the £5000 Bank stock as charged in your and Beaumont's account not knowing what it was sold for by Beaumont, though he says in one of his letters that it was well sold without mentioning the price, as also the amount of Capt. Thompson's Bond, 571 thirty six shilling pieces of Portugal Gold Coin for which I enclose you an order on Mr. William Bensley who sailed hence last season in the *Triton* Indiaman, and the £500 legacy bequeathed to me by Beaumont which with the interest on the bank stock I hope will prove sufficient to liquidate my debt to Beaumont's estate. If not I request you will make up what those funds may fall short from your own cash which you will reimburse yourself from the

Bills on the Directors I shall transmit to my Brother James, yourself and Mr. William Bensley this season whom I have taken the liberty to appoint my attorneys in Great Britain in case of my Sister Mary Barwell's death.

You have also your account current with me to this day whereby a balance of Crs. 4258-3-6 is in my favor.

I am, dear Leycester, Your Friend

N.B.—Refer to my letter of 5 August 1775 to Beaumont and you will find his account adjusted exactly on the principle I there lay down. R.B.

P. S.—Since writing the foregoing I find there is a mistake of Crs. 200 overcredited Beaumont 10 November 1771 at the mark in account A in the addition of two articles credited that day. This however is of no consequence if his representatives are satisfied to receive payment as stated at foot of account B; if not it will occasion a reduction of the balance in account A.

No. 552.

CALCUTTA,

The 31st December 1777.

TO WILLIAM BENSLEY, ESQR.

Dear Bensley,

The receipt for 571 Portugal pieces of gold signed by Captain Elphinstone and delivered to you by Mr. Mordaunt you will perceive by my letter of 31st March 1777 is become my property, and as Mr. Leycester will have occasion for the proceeds of that money to negotiate some matters between me and the late Mr. Beaumont's estate, I am to request the favor of you to pay those proceeds to Mr. Leycester whose receipt shall be your sufficient discharge.

I am, dear Bensley, your Friend.

No. 553.

CALCUTTA,

The 5th January 1778.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

I have now before me your letter of 6 November 1776 in which you tell me you suppose I intend to replace the sum lent to Col. McLeane and compute it at £10000, that you have neither charged the £400 per annum, nor the deed of gift in your account of December 1775, and that your annual expence is at least £1600 which you propose placing to my

debit. My *dearest Friend*, what can I *say* to all this? Was my fortune equal to the gratification of one of the most interesting wishes of my heart, *the question* should not have been asked. These different articles you talk of allow me to pass before you.

Col. McLeane	£ Stg.	10000
Deed of Gift	...	10000
	£ Stg.	20000

£ Stg. 400 per annum for what period I cannot at present ascertain ... ...

£ Stg. 1600 per annum for what period I cannot ascertain ... ...

collected in one view they will speak most forcibly to your reason especially when you add to the amount losses by Sir G. Colebrooke not yet ascertained; proposed deed of gift for Fanny lodged in your hands ... ... £ Stg. 5000

Should Col. McLeane's debt be recovered, believe me, I shall have no objection to your enjoying it and to your disposing of it as you think proper. It is your own and will be an addition to the £stg 10000 deed of gift, which was equally a mark of my affection and a proposed compensation for the risk of that debt of McLeane's. It is true I proposed once to take that debt upon myself, but it was previous to my making the consideration I have done. Any unavoidable expence exceeding your own income, if the £400 is insufficient, you will state to my debit. It would impeach the truth of my affection to suffer you to be injured by a style of living superior to your means and adopted in great degree to push my prospects in life. But as these prospects terminate, so must the walk of life be continued or deviated from in which we are both engaged. If I succeed it may be enlarged; if I now give up my views, it must be limited to the mediocrity of fortune we are enabled to command. I say we, as I have not a shilling but what I shall with pleasure participate with you, for you must not think because I prescribe and mark a line of prudential economy to myself and to you, it is of that fixed nature as not to be influenced by you in such points as may be essential to your convenience and ease in life. But it is necessary I should know on what fortune I am to depend, clear of all the dispositions I have hitherto made from it, and that all my friends, yourself not excepted, do form your economy, not on expectation, but on actual possession. It is with this view I am so explicit, the defect or deficieney if there should be any on the system I lay down, will only be found on my arrival with you, for while I am in this country I may without inconvenience to myself make up the difference between your actual income and expences as stated to me. How far this

may be in my power when I fix in England, can only be determined by the means it shall then *appear to you* I possess.

I enclose you extract of a letter from my Brother William with the account it enclosed. The ground on which it is written I give you in the abstract of a letter I wrote to him the 20th October 1773 with one I wrote to you of the same date on the subject of losses *incurred on my account* in India stock. The words with which my letter to him on the subject concludes are "my sister will inform you of what I have written to her and make good by my directions every assurance *which her affection has influenced her to make to you and all my dearest friends.*" It is pretty clear to me William was ashamed to submit to you the application he was about to make to me, sensible I suppose of some impropriety which your knowledge of the transaction (he is willing to state to my loss) would have pointed out, and given to me in a light he did not wish me to view it in. However this may be, his keeping you in entire ignorance, and writing direct to me on a matter I had fully *instructed you* upon, and made you the *sole judge of*, carries a mysterious air and is not to be vindicated, for admitting (all that he can suppose) the most unfavorable bias to influence your mind, still it precluded him not the right of submitting all the circumstances of his case to my judgment, and appealing from yours to my decision, if he conceived himself treated with the least degree of rigor or harshness, but confident as I am of the goodness and rectitude of your heart which I am certain would not permit you to benefit *yourself or me* at the expence of that justice which might be due to any of our friends, much less to so near a relation as a brother, I cannot account for his declining to communicate with you upon any other principle than an absurd idea he may have taken up of its subjecting him to an obligation at your hands. However this may be, his foibles are the foibles of human nature, and claim from me every palliative a brother can give them. In this sentiment do you, my dear Friend, oblige me so far as to overlook little mistakes, for to insist and dwell on the past when it cannot be rectified, answer no good purpose, and tends only to widen breaches with those who should be friends. I shall now proceed to state what I wish you to do to gratify William, and what I conceive in justice he owes to me. These points you will submit to James and if he concurs in opinion with you, take your measures accordingly.

1. Call upon William for a fair account of all the purchases and sales of India stock he has ever made, exhibiting the profits as well as loss on all such sales of stock.

2. From the above account having ascertained the real loss that has arisen to him, add the difference between the dividends he would have received had the stock kept up, and the dividends upon it been continued.

By this mode his annual income as a stock holder, had the dividends never fluctuated, will appear, and he will stand exactly in the same state as if he had never sold out. This is the utmost he can on any principle of equity hope for, it not being just to state 5 per cent. interest on the difference, when his income as a stock holder, had he continued one, and the dividends on stock been kept up, would not have yeilded him such an interest.

3. The stock if it was for my use should have been kept by William. I did not propose to engage in stock jobbing, nor that any of my friends should; my object was a fixt proprietory interest to be under *your* sole direction My constant orders were, *if stock has been engaged for my service it is not to be sold out*, keep it for me. *I allow no one a right to dispose of my property at a loss without my particular instructions.* Besides the selling India stock, if held for my use, would defeat the very object for which it was purchased. It is not possible that William or any of my friends could suppose they were acting agreeable to my wishes, by bargaining for stock to be accounted for at a given period of time. This would have been making me gamble in the ally with a witness, leaving to them to do what they pleased with my fortune, and counteracting all the views I could possibly have, in requesting my friends to become India Proprietors. The stock was bought without my knowledge and sold against my express instructions. If therefore I accept it, I accept it out of consideration to my brother William (and he is to receive it as a mark of my affection) to which he cannot on any principle of equity advance a pretension. Now if you and my brother James join in opinion to take the stock off William's hands, William must make over to you as much actual stock as he states to have been purchased on account; less he cannot do, and as to what I leave to you to propose, it is more than ought to be done for him by me, unless my brother as in honor he is engaged, answers the *express words of our father's will respecting the Chestsey Estate*, for whatever right he may have in that estate to dispose of it at his pleasure, that right is not derived from the intention of the testator or from equity, but from an omission of form in witnessing the testament, which the law construes to leave it in the option of the heir to fulfill such testament or not. I cannot, it is true, advance any legal claim that my brother is obliged to answer, yet in honor I esteem him bound though in law he is free. If he should not comply, it is a matter of no great moment, as neither myself nor my heirs might be benefitted by his compliance, the estate descending to his children should he ever have any, and not to me or mine, or my other brothers and their children; should Mrs. Barwell's survivorship be any obstacle to William's compliance I have no objection to his securing the rents of Chestsey to her during her life. I ask of William a simple act of justice. Will he deny my request, and yet

prefer to me one which is to take a large sum out of my pocket to put into his own? Can he expect this from my affection at the instant he gives me so strong a proof of the little interest I hold in his? Should he prove so unreasonable he must be disappointed. I am, my dear Sister.

Your most affectionate Friend and Brother.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM R. BARWELL TO MRS. MARY BARWELL,

Dacca, the 20th October, 1773.

I have written to you already by the *Mercury* packet. This is in consequence of what advices are arrived by the *Harcourt*. I find my brothers extremely alarmed on the failure of Sir George and all looking up to me to remedy the accident which may materially affect their fortunes. Engaged by honor and every tie that renders an obligation binding they might have been assured, I would do no less. You may therefore confirm your former assurances to the family of my indemnifying any loss which may arise from your management of India stock account the minors, or the stock placed in your hands or submitted to your management by William or James or any of the family who have the controul of their own fortunes. All I desire in return is that no India stock may be sold out at a loss, but that I may answer for such stock by repaying the first purchase for this reason that as I want not an influence in any other stock and can do without the interest which is necessary to subsist a man in England, I can very well wait rise of the stock to sell.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM R. BARWELL TO W. BARWELL ESQ.,

Dated Dacca, 20th October 1773.

I have received your friendly letter of the 3rd March and one from James of the 5th April with a full relation of the particulars by which you are so much affected. The tyes of gratitude which your kind attention towarde me rivet in the strongest manner, and the principles of honor, justice and affection to you all is an obligation of such nature that I should approve myself extremely worthless and undeseving indeed of your love and favour did I not engage to make up to you all in the fullest manner any losses which may have been incurred for my sake and for my service. Make yourself therefore fully easy, my Brother, on the score of your India stock and Sir George Colebrookes failure. Such accidents shall never be permitted by me to affect your fortune or your interest. Thank God, my fortune is ample and my mind too free from avarice not to answer your expectations. I have written my sentiment at large to my sister Mary, and if the bills, etc., of my remittances to England are answered she has ample powers from me to make you all perfectly easy. The only thing I hope and wish for is that no part of your India stock may

have been sold out at a loss as I shall very willingly take such stock to myself and can wait its rise to sell out, for whilst I am in India and engaged in the Company's service I would have my money in that fund which will give my friends an influence and entitle them to ask for me that countenance from which alone I am enable to derive a support to my pretensions and secure myself from the superior weight of influence which men by resigning the Company's service and repairing to Europe too often acquire to the prejudice of the Company's servants who are toiling abroad. I have said I hope sufficient to satisfy your mind. My sister will inform you of what I have written to her and make good by my directions every assurance which her affection has influenced her to make to you and all my dearest friends.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM WILLIAM BARWELL TO R. BARWELL,

Dated London, 5th December 1776.

I have taken the liberty to enclose your amount of India stock by which you will see the price I settled it at, and as I said I would give you a chance for the rise I will not be worse than my word and will trasfer it to you or order at the same price I settled it at notwithstanding any rise whatsoever. I have only charged you the £4000 with which I make 8 votes. The qualification that stood in my name and made the 9th vote I shall not charge you. I make no doubt you will order the difference to be settled the first opportunity whenever it is convenient to your affairs.

Dr. Richard Barwell Esq. his Account of India Stock with William Barwell ... ... *Cr.*

1771 Feby. 25	To £ 1500 capital stock brought, transferred & paid for @ 230 p. c.	3450	0	0	1773 April-30	By £ 4000 capital stock settled this day @ 137 percent.	5480	0	0
1772 July 22	To £ 2500 do. brought as above @ 214 p. c.	5350	0	0		By balance due to Wm. Barwell this day.	3320	0	0
		£ 8800	0	0			£ 8800	0	0
1773 April 30	To Balance due ...	3320	0	0	1777 April 30	By balance due to Wm. B. this day. Principal & Interest.	3984	0	0
1775 April 30	To 2 yrs. int. thereon @ 5 p. c. due this day	332	0	0					
1777 April 30	To 2 yrs. int. thereon @ 5 p. c. due this day	332	0	0					
		£ 3984	0	0			£ 3984	0	0

E. E.

London, 6 December 1776 (signed) William Barwell.

No. 554.

CALCUTTA,
The 7th January 1778.

TO LAWRENCE SULIVAN, ESQ.

My dear Sir,

I have more than once taken up the pen to register my obligations by acknowledgments but with a mind more adopted to face favors and to act from their impression, I have protracted making them, until ashamed of the lapse of time I have suffered to pass, I could no longer defer the expression of my thanks, however unequal to my sense of the zeal and friendship with which you have assisted me. Traits of character know by communication giving judgment fairer play in the choice of connections than personal acquaintance in which the agreeable and engaging often determine our election. I ought to have presumed, your knowledge of me would have dispensed with simple thanks and done yourself and me justice on the present occasion, and indeed I must trust to this, for I am one of the worst professing friends, at the very instant I am tenacious of the character of a real zealous and firm one, and therefore allow me without further words to expect and pay the reciprocal rights of friendship connected with my sister my dearest, most beloved and tried friend, by whom accepted you must be mine and retained mine.

The circumstances in which you supposed me placed are precluded by an all-ruling Providence, inscrutable in its dispensations. To her our friend is obliged, and she probably will reconcile him to those whose connections might have forced them to disregard his worth. You will find in my letters to my sister I have already drawn this conclusion, on the shifting of Mr. Wheler's appointment consequent to the news of Sir John Clavering's very ill state of health. It presages in my opinion all Mr. Hastings can wish, for had the Ministry at all events resolved his ejection, they would scarcely have yielded the advantage of his resignation, if they meant subsequently to insist upon it in favor of General Coote. I therefore expect if this gentleman does come out, his nomination will be such as to include the possibility of the event that has happened, and leave Mr. Hastings in the Government. I may be mistaken, but as appearances strongly support this reasoning Mr. Hastings must stand acquitted to the Minister for keeping his seat, and I stand excused for supporting him while he holds it and holds it in all human probability with the secret wish of Lord North that he should hold it.

My sentiments you will find have very much varied and were not fixt, until my intelligence was complete for in the idea of Mr. Wheler's coming out to fill the vacancy occasioned by Mr. Hastings's proposed resignation, the act of disclaiming McLeane's negotiation at the *time it was committed*

appeared to me in a light extremely unaccountable, and I can not even now reconcile it to any principle but too easy acquiescence to the *advice of friends* who had a particular view in persuading him of its positive necessity. I wrote McLeane on the moment I heard of his arrival, but as he was departed the Coast before my letter reached it, I had not the satisfaction of a reply to the questions I asked under my dissatisfaction at Hastings's conduct. The perspicuity with which you view characters must acquit or condemn me in this instance. If I misjudged, my line was simply to have left him to himself and declined a scence that was likely to envolve me more and more, and in fact without any probablity of giving Mr. Hastings quiet, destroy what little means I might have remaining to serve the general great cause I had engaged in. Whatever might be my ideas before the alteration in Mr. Wheler's appointment, that alteration changing the prospect so much in favor of our friend instantly acquitted him to me, and from that moment I no longer regarded his retiring as an obligation incumbent on him. No support I had given him made such a sacrifice indispensable, nor will I ever be so unreasonable as to entertain a thought that a friend can owe more to me than to himself, or yield his prospects to promote mine against his obvious and first interest. In this sentiment I wait the fulness of time to answer my wishes or to give them up and retire.

Mr. Hastings continues still embroiled, and Mr. Francis indefatigable in opposition startles our new associate, who feebly reechoes his sentiments in firm persuasion that his conduct is regulated by Cabinet instructions, while Francis's object is in fact to approach the Chair regardless of the means that may advance him to it.

The restoration of Raja Rajebullub to the Royroyanee office, a measure obligatory on Mr. Hastings and pointed strongly to by the spirit of the Company's orders, has been objected to as unauthorized, when the only reason the Court of Directors assign for not expressly directing his restoration to office is the effect such orders might have on the *ruling influence* of the Government. The ruling influence if to be supported under present circumstances alters the whole arrangements of the reasoning principle. "Government is to be supported and though an *act of injustice* is committed, "as to rectify it would weaken the hands of the majority we must suffer it to "continue. Now in the present circumstances the doing of an *act of justice* "supports the Government and strengthens the hands of the majority." Yet the sufferance of an act of injustice under particular circumstances which are declared to be a restraint on orders that would otherwise have been issued, is urged by our associates to impeach Mr. Hastings of violence. Can anything be more absurd and foolish? The argument *totidem verbis* of the General Letter is just and full as excellent as the *totidem leteris* of Peter Jack and

Martin famous in story for the true interpretation of their father's will. I beg you will excuse the hurry of this scrawl and believe me.

My dear Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servant,

No. 555.

CALCUTTA,
The 6th February 1778.

TO JOHN ROBINSON, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

I am obliged by your letter of 11th November 1776, as I should have been flattered by my Lord North's personal acknowledgment of the letters I troubled him with. I feel myself indebted to your kindness for taking up the pen in his name. The confidential office of His Lordship's Secretary which allows you the means of vindicating those of your connections who may be misrepresented and who from your greater means of information and intimate acquaintance with their freinds you thoroughly know, must be devoted to your line has, and, I flatter myself, will continue to influence you in my favor. Nothing but a perverse combination of causes all which are known to you will ever make me appear any other than the devoted servant of Government. I think my character and conduct through life will readily obtain me that credit which a strict and uniform adherence to my word once passed gives me a right to expect. No man is free from errors in political conduct who does not clearly see his way, and in a country so remote as this from the scene you are engaged in, you must not condemn when facts speak so equivocally as to leave their interpretation to a bias of the mind, if a line not entirely such as you wish should be taken by those who can have no other views or prospects than such as must depend on the favor of my Lord North to gratify. If I have been mistaken my letter to the Earl of Sandwich which I desired Mrs. Barwell to submit to you will have given you the reasoning that has misled me, and I assure you upon my honor had not the transactions at home struck me in the light I have stated them, I would not from any considerations have committed myself in the support of Hastings, but have withdrawn myself if I could not in honor have acted against him. Baseness, I am convinced, is below the patronage of every man of principle, even was I capable of descending to it, and in this confidence I make up my mind to the hope with which I indulge it that you will be my friend, and that my Lord North will not deny me his countenance.

The intrigues of the French at the Poonah Darbar you will be fully apprized of by your emissaries at the Court of France, as will by the present

despatches of the jealouseis that have divided the Maharatta Ministers at Poonâ and given a turn greatly to the advantage of the British influence in the only Court of Asia that could have affected it. Succaram Babboo the Minister with whom the treaty of Proondur was negotiated by Colonel Upton, alarmed by the measures of his colleague Nannapûr Naveese uniting himself with many Chiefs of note, has made private overtures to the Bombay Government inviting Rogoonaut Row to his place in the Maharatta Administration. This invitation has been accepted and the acceptance approved by the Council-General under certain limitations (dissentients Messrs. Francis and Wheler); the arguments for and against the measure are principally these:—

1st.—That our interference is consistent with the treaty of Proondur. The party with whom it was negotiated and in fact the Government of Poona requesting it, in opposition to a faction engaged in designs with the French to raise itself superior to the established Government.

2nd.—That it was better to exclude the French by coming into the views of the ruling men at Poonâ than to be hereafter engaged in war with a power in alliance with France and supported by her arms which must be the inevitable consequences on the introduction of a French army at Poonâ.

3rd.—That if any present engagements subjected the safety of our Government to risk, such risk would be multiplied tenfold if the schemes of the French ripened into action.

4th.—That if we could not command success when assisted by the Ruling Faction at Poonâ, what opposition could be possibly made at a period we should be deprived of those advantages.

In opposition it is urged—

1st—that the acceptance of the Maharatta invitation is a breach of the Treaty of Proondur;

2nd—that while a war in Europe is apprehended, we should avoid any engagements that may weaken our power of defence;

3rd—that the overture may be a finesse to sound our disposition towards Ragonout Row;

4th—that the Government of Bombay are not in a capacity to go to war, etc., etc.

I shall make no comment on these strange reasons for not attempting to obviate the scene of confusion that clearly threatens to involve the West of India. Be so good as to take the trouble of examining the grounds on which this Government has decided and determine from facts the policy of its measures.

I am, Dear Sir, Your most obedient servant.

No. 556.

CALCUTTA,

The 19th February 1778.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.

DEAR LEYCESTER,

My confidence in your friendship and reliance on Beaumont induced me to give you the trouble I have done on many money transactions, and you will excuse me for continuing to do it, in remittances appropriated for payments, as my sister is ill versed in matters of account though a proper attorney to hold such sums as I mean to have untouched and estimated as my net fortune in England. As I have already written to you fully on money matters entrusted to Beaumont and yourself and on the adjustment proposed with the executors of our friend, I shall turn from my personal interests to public transactions.

The proposed resignation of the Government by Hastings would have taken place soon after the advices arrived, had not Sir John Clavering influenced by the strangest infatuation attempted to seize the Chair. How this act was resented the advices already with you sufficiently explain, and Sir John dying left Hastings at liberty to keep his place, it being understood the obligation to resign ceased with the extinction of Sir John's pretensions. However that may be, the general voice was pleased to pronounce the obligation stronger upon Hastings because I was to be benefitted by his ratification of the promise given in England, but as popular opinions are hastily formed, the circumstances that determine a man's actions have not always that weight given them they justly merit. Undoubtedly I should have been obliged to Hastings had he retired in order to give me his place. Yet as his relinquishing was upon compulsion, the compulsion ceasing could not operate in my favour, and it is rather too extravagant an expectation to imagine a friend shall yield to me the greatest good he enjoys because he *must* have parted with it to his enemy, and because had I not preserved it to him, he must have lost it by the most daring act of presumption. This in fact would be impeaching my principle and imputing to my conduct views very different from those on which I regulated it. Whatever Hastings may do, I owe a respect to myself that frees me from the influence of the object he is pleased in the possession of, and this respect equally ensures his Government my support as it does disappointment to opposition, which would lure me into its views by the prospect of putting me into instant possession of my wishes. I look for no romantic instance of gratitude, while Hastings is just and friendly I am satisfied; when he is otherwise I may feel concern at having benefitted a bad man, but it will be mingled with the complacency of self-approbation in having merited better.

The state of our affairs made up to the 18th instant exhibit three crore

and about fifty lacs as the balance of our quick stock. Of this about one crore and seventy lacs is in coin in the different treasuries; the residue is in goods import and export, salt, opium, and advances for the provision of the investment, which is funded at one crore fifteen lacs for the ensuing season; exclusive we have sent bills to Bombay for 10 lacs over and above the annual supply and to China 10 lacs.

In these circumstances we have authorized the Bombay Government to interfere in the political scene at Poona and to establish the interests of the Company on the dissensions of the Ministers as far as may be consistent with the treaty of Proondur. This vote is grounded on the Bombay advices and certain intelligence of the distracted state of the Maharatta Government and the intrigues of a faction in it to introduce the French. The scheme on which St. Lubin came was projected in France. Mr. Elliot in his way through the Continent to Suez picked up some information relative to it, and these are all corroborated by the evidence of facts at Poona, and in so strong a manner that there can be no doubt of the intentions of France, nor of the necessity of counteracting them. I hope we shall not be subjected to the danger of military operations, but as it is necessary to be guarded against events, we propose to increase our Battallions from 700 to 1000 Native troops. This will enable us to hold between 6 and 7000 men in readiness for the West of India without weakening our established strength in proportion to the aid we lend. Francis and Wheler dissent to our policy, and like good stewards are for preserving a useless mass of treasure and adding to it, improvident of the means that must be taken to protect it from invasion. If the French should ever fairly establish themselves at Poona and command the forces of that Government implicitly in the prosecution of their designs, their immediate route after the reduction of Bombay will be by Ujein to Oude and Bengal with all the powers hostile to us at their back. It is amazing to me how Francis can have the front to talk about a saving of 10 or 20 lacs, after having so frequently expatiated on the folly of burying the wealth of the country in our coffers, wealth we could neither use in the country nor realize in Europe by increase of investment, and upon this principle modestly proposing a reduction of rents to the amount of the Civil and Military charges and the investment for Europe estimated at 70 lacs, a stroke that would have given up about a crore per annum to zemindars, a fund I imagine he meant for himself and associates; yet this man talks of economy, etc., etc., upon occasions that make it a just economy to lay out money.

Mrs. Barwell is obliged by your compliments and hopes to improve them into family intimacy when my fortune sets me down in England. Make my apologies to Lushington; he must excuse me for not writing, though I ought to have given him the particulars of our debates on his Hughly salt balances

and their termination in a peremptory power vested in the Accountant-General to pay them. Dissent Francis.

Adieu,
Your affectionate Friend.

No. 557.

CALCUTTA,
The 19 February, 1778.

TO HENRY SAVAGE, ESQR.

Dear Sir,

I am obliged by your letters to 3 May 1777. Bickerings still exist and the hope of Clavering's friends effecting the removal of Hastings by obtaining a decided order for his quitting the Government encourages an opposition which I flattered myself would have subsided when the old gentleman was no more. Disappointed in my expectations of tranquillity, I prefer taking a part, rather against my own immediate interests than by falling in with my associates' views to recommence a scene of confusion, which has been already extremely pernicious, and if continued, must be more so to the public interests. I consider not what are the obligations of Mr. Hastings to resign; Whatever they might have been, had Sir John lived, those no longer exist, since a total alteration of the circumstances under which they were contracted, in my opinion, leave him at liberty, and possibly my Lord North may now wish him to keep his place. Situated as I am you may imagine my secret wish is the resignation of Mr. Hastings; did I not entertain such a wish, I should little merit the great object its accomplishment would give me, but at the same time I entertain it, you will perceive from my unwearied support of Mr. Hastings, I allow not the suggestions of my associates to warp my mind. I ought to be in the Chair, Mr. Hastings ought to go home, is constantly in their mouths, but because he does not do what may be proper for him, does it necessarily follow I am to act a nefarious and blamable part and use my utmost efforts to thrust him from his office? No. It becomes me to give this Government weight in the eyes of Hindustan, to support it such as it is, and to wait the fullness of time for the completion of my object, neither to desert Mr. Hastings at his need, nor by joining with his enemies to vindicate his keeping me from his office, if I ought in right to enjoy it. You perceive how extremely delicate the dilemma is into which I am thrown, and how difficult the part; whatever it may be, I have to act; let this then be my apology to my friends and to the world, and if my support appears too implicit, let them consider it as a consequence of the opposite extreme in my associates who act on system and condemn indiscriminately.

The scene which opens on the West of India and which must compel the Bombay Government to take a part upon the system of party, is regarded with indifference, and measures which neither in policy nor in common sense could be declined, are branded with epithets of intrigue and suggested to be the result of deep schemes perfected by the craft and perseverance of the Bombay Gentlemen. Read the Bombay advices and read the dissents to the vote of support. The intelligence by no means countenances such injurious suspicions, nor can vindicate this Government in declining its aid. Whatever may be the consequence we should be prepared to meet it and act with a decision and firmness best calculated to ensure success. In these sentiments, we have already remitted 10 lacs of Bombay rupees over and above the annual supply, and are drawing to the frontier of the Mahratta dominions a force of between 5 and 6000 native troops with about 20 pieces of small artillery attached to the battallions, and to effect this without any diminution of our own strength, it is proposed to increase the companies from 70 to 100 firelocks and render the battallions 1000 complete. This may be done at a trifling expence, and as soon as it may be proper to contract our forces it will be effected without difficulty by reducing the companies to the old establishment of 70 now warrant and private. It is I think more than probable that you may judge our measures overcautious, and of course condemn the charge incurred as unnecessary, but would you not rather we should lay out a part of your exuberant and useless treasures to secure and give permanancy to your interests than to keep it locked up, lost equally to the Company and to the country, for the wealth is merely ideal that exists in account without any possible means of realising it to the Company, and unless it can be advantageously laid out in the country, may as well be buried? The balance of your quick stock is about three crore and a half of rupees of which about one crore seventy lacs is in coin. The investment provided exceeds the tonnage as yet arrived for its transportation, and has compelled us to encourage proposals to convey it to you rather than to suffer it to rot in our warehouses. We have appropriated further 10 lacs to remit to China exclusive of the 10 lacs additional supply to Bombay and have funded a crore and fifteen lacs to the lading of the ships of the ensuing season, and in this situation a penurious policy which might be detrimental to your interests at Bombay could never be defended. I am aware opposition will insinuate that the public money is not disbursed with just economy and dwell much on those necessary establishments which a total change in the Service have rendered indispensable, but bring the matter to a fair test and let the state of the government be opposed to the state of the Service. The public is rich; are individuals so; will you grudge them a genteel subsistence and

miser-like starve those into knavery who ought to be bound by honorable ties to your prosperity? If this is the narrow system of Europe, trust me you will not long see your affairs prosper. Self will absorb every thought and your example like a contagion seize the minds of every man in the East. The popular prejudice against Indians has done much mischief, for in the proportion that men dispair of honor to be enjoyed with independence they will lose in equal degree their sense of shame and have no principle to regulate their actions but lust of gain.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servant.

No. 558.

CALCUTTA,
The 19th February, 1778.

TO CHARLES GRAVE HUDSON, ESQR.

Sir,

I have been honored with your letter of 12 March 1777 with its enclosure of the 3rd. from my friend Mr. Purling. I should be very happy to have it in my power to render you any service in recovering the moneys which before as well as since the demise of Mr. Palmer became precarious, and you may be assured, Sir, if I can afford any assistance to Messrs. Marriott, and Child they may most confidently command it. I understood from Mr. Pattle when he was last in Calcutta that he had taken such measures as the law warranted to bring the administrator of Mr. Palmer's estate to account. I hope they will be attended with effect, and as I make no doubt of your receiving a full and satisfactory exposition of facts from that gentleman, I subscribe myself

Sir, Your most obedient humble servant

No. 559.

CALCUTTA,
The 20th February 1778.

TO WILLIAM BARWELL, ESQR.

Dear Brother,

I have received your letter of the 5th December 1776 giving cover to an account of India stock. As I have not heard a word from our sister touching this stock, I am at a loss how to form a true judgment of your expectations. Justice to you and to myself is equally to be considered in the transaction and claims an equal regard. On this principle I wrote to you the 20th Octr.

1773, and concluded with these words: "my sister will inform you of what I have written to her and make good by my directions *every assurance which her affection has influenced her to make to you and all my dearest friends.*" What your engagements were, at whose instance made, and whether really entered into merely to promote my views with a declared purpose to place the loss or gain to my account I am in entire ignorance, nor have you or any of my brothers or sisters given me a clue to guide me. That you should lose a six-pence by my transaction your affection dictated for my benefit is neither consistent with justice, nor the return I am ready and impatient to make to an act of kindness even from a person otherwise indifferent, the obligation conferred excepted. But at the same time it is not consistent with justice or the duty a man owes to himself to admit an act obligatory on him to answer, which first comes to his knowledge in a simple communication of the inconvenience or detriment the act has occasioned to his friend. Mere omission or any other cause may have deprived me of information in a matter of such consequence, and thus circumstanced, you must not think it strange if I wish for an explanation. It is onething for a brother to do a simple act of justice to a brother; it is another to shew a degree of consideration uninfluenced by any claim found in right or equity, and determined solely by affection. One is the gift of his love, the other the discharge of a just debt, which an honest and upright mind acknowledges to be equal to my legal instrument. I have already written to my sister Mary touching your transaction in stock and recommended to her a rule which I flatter myself will make any distant applications to me in India unnecessary, as I have spoken fully both on your expectations and my own.

I am, Dear Brother,
Your affectionate brother.

No. 560.

CALCUTTA,
The 24th February 1778.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

I enclose copy of a letter I have written to my brother William and sent under cover to James. As I have already explained myself very fully to you on the subject of this letter the copy now sent is simply for information and lest my brother William should not communicate the contents. In the extracts I have furnished you from William's letter of 5th December 1776, you will probably be struck with the following words "and as I said I would give you a chance for the rise etc.," implying previous communication and that I

was made acquainted with his engagements and transactions in stock at their commencement and knew myself interested in them from the first This is not fair in William for he will know the fact to be otherwise and that all my engagements such as I had were confidentially reposed in your direction, and none of our family excepting yourself authorized by me in transactions of stock. however I wish you may be able to satisfye him on the principle explained in my letter of the 5th of last month. If that cannot be, let the matter rest and give me his particular objections, but should he come into my proposals I expect the stock; should you require it for the purpose of not losing for one year the votes it commands to continue in his name and the votes at your devotion or to be transferred to whoever you direct. The other letters under this cover are mentioned in a list enclosed.

I am, my Dear Sister, Your friend and brother.

No. 561.

CALCUTTA.

The 22nd February 1778.

To JOHN RABINSON, ESQR.

Dear Sir,

Since my last of the 6th subsequent advices from Bombay and intelligence direct from Poona intimate that the different views of the two sections in the Maharatta Government are openly avowed, the one in the interest of France countenanced by Nannafur Navies, the other by Succaram Babboo and Mahraba Furneese, and that since the defeat of the Nana's army under Hurry punt Furkea by the forces of Hyder, the family of Hurrypunt has removed from Poona to the fort of Ruttungiriah whither Nana has likwise sent off his most valuable effects and seems disposed to follow them in person. In this state of parties the crisis of a most important revolution is apparent, and such a revolution as I flatter myself must terminate in security to the British possessions and the absolute exclusion of the French. A rupture between the Maharatta Ministers could not have happened at a better period; the French schemes as yet unripe for execution fall with the party that was to have supported them, while the English influence by the very means projected by one of the Ministers for its suppression, becomes fixt and probably permanent in their state. Whatever may be, the consequence of these dissensions to the Ministers themselves, it is next to a certainty that the power which decides between them will reap great advantages from their contests and ultimately give the law. I may be mistaken; yet so firmly persuaded am I of the English Power being firmly established on the

dissensions and distracted state of the Maharatta Government that I would stake my head on the conclusion I draw being verified. Viewed in every light the rupture between the Ministers is most fortunate to the English Empire in the East. Had France obtained a footing on the Continent and directed the military operations of the Maharratta state with the best cavalry in the East, joined to their European force, and the native infantry they could have raised and disciplined with the treasures of Poona, they must have infallibly reduced Bombay, from thence they would have turned through their own dominions (for such the Maharatta States would have been) to the Province of Oude on which they border, and have entered Bengal with fire and sword, for although the Maharatta dominions are divided among many powerful Chiefs their reduction would be no difficult task to a French Government directing the immediate strength of their capital to the accomplishment of such an object. It is most happy then that the French are not ripe for action, and that this rupture of the Ministers effectually frustrates the intrigues on which they had built to dispute, with probability of success to the Empire of India with Great Britain.

As it has been urged that the Government of Bombay is weak and unequal to the part she takes in the great political scene, allow me to request your inspection of the returns of their force. You will find from them that they can bring into the field, if occasion calls, an army equal in numbers and better appointed than the one with which we formerly contested the possession of Bengal with Cossim Ally Cawn without a single ally to take part in our cause. Yet we were successful, and though opposed by the best disciplined troops of Asia and some fortresses of strength, drove the enemy beyond the Provinces in the course of one year. However to guard against possible events and at the same instant not to diminish our own strength by the aid we give, if aid is required, it has been resolved to make our sepoy battalions consisting of 700 firelocks 1000 strong and increase the companies from 70 to 100 men by new levies in the upper countries. In our different treasuries we have at this moment about 170 lacs or near two million sterling in specie; we have funded 115 lacs exclusive for the mercantile concerns of the Company, and the balance of quick stock stated the 18th instant, specie excepted, is about 180 lacs and with specie 350 lacs. N.B. the 115 lacs for the mercantile transactions of the Company are partly funded in the quick stock and partly in the receipts to the present year's revenue. In this situation 5 of our battalions, 2 regiments of horse on the Vizier's establishment with 20 small pieces of artillery are held in readiness to march on the instant they may be required, either through the territories of Mahadagee Bouncello, Mahadagee Sindihah, or Saheogee Holkar, all at present united with the Poona faction, in opposition to the

ambitious designs of Nannafur Naveese connected with the agent of France Mons. St. Lubin taking the road of Ujein the nearest route to Poona along the Narbudda river. This force allotted for Bombay, if necessary, is drawn from the upper stations of our army and assembles at the pass of Kulpee to the North West of Elliabad.

To give you minutely the advice from Poona and Bombay becomes unnecessary, as copies of all political papers are sent direct to the Ministers and coming immediately before you can be referred to if any particular points require examination. To one however I must specially call your attention, the designs of France. The intelligence obtained by Mr. Elliott when he passed through France to Suez was communicated by that gentleman in a letter to the Governor-General and Council. This intelligence is corroborated by the transaction at Poona, and will not admit a doubt of its authenticity. We are further informed that the Sieur Beleomp, Governor of Pondicherry, proposes a visit to the coast of Malabar, that Mons. D. Blotise is already gone thither in a small vessel from Chandernagore, so that two French ships of war are expected on that coast and to strengthen the suspicious appearance of all these circumstances one Juggah Mohundutt, cousin to Mons. Chevaleir's Banian, has been discovered to resort privately to the Maharatta Vakeel who accompanied Col. Upton to Calcutta. This man when first seized, denied the intercourse with the Vakeel, and his correspondence being secreted no discoveries have followed the seizure, but the mysterious manner of his conduct and the secreting his letter book and letters he must have had, as he was engaged in extensive business, shows plainly he has been engaged in some illicit practices and that in his caution to avoid detection, even his correspondence on common business has been made away with.

I am. dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

No. 562.

CALCUTTA,

The 25th February, 1778.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

The *Besborough* and *Lord North* are arrived and I have been favored with your letters to myself and Mr. Cator of the 3rd., 4th. and 5th July with an account and several enclosures. Previous to the receipt of those letters I had written to Mr. Leycester to settle with the executors of Beaumont on the principle defined in a letter written to my friend in 1775, a copy of which I found among the papers you have now sent, but as it will be much more for my interest to adjust the whole at the exchange of 19 pence which has been

accepted in transfer of the Bombay Bill, I desired Mr. Cator to send a copy of your letter to Mr. Leycester by this conveyance, and I flatter myself young Kingsley and the executors will be satisfied and clear me at once of the burden of their affairs.

By the manner in which you state my account, I am left totally ignorant upon what securities or in what public funds my monies are placed. As my prospects of fortune are closed, your first and indeed sole object must be not to subject my property to any risk. Let Sir George Colebrooke's failure be always present to you and remember I expect your attention to the *following rule* which is *decided and absolute, never to lend my monies on private securities*, but to lodge it in some one of the public funds—India funds, half of the whole at least and not to sell out of any fund at a loss without my express directions.

Whatever you can realize of Sir George Colebrooke's debt must be realized

I am, my Dear Sister, Your friend and brother

No. 563.

CALCUTTA,

The 25th April, 1778.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

I enclose you the Minutes that have passed on the Company's orders for the payment of the Judges' salaries. The right is clear, and circumstaned as Mr. Hastings is, he would have been deficient to himself had he declined claiming the difference of salary to which he was entitled, the proposal of refering a point already decided by the Directors back again to the Directors and leaving the receipt of the money due to Hastings in suspence for future instructions, that might not arrive before his Government expired, was too gross to allow him to come into it. Possibly to this it may be observed: are not those in the same predicament who make the proposition and has not Hastings as much reason to wait the issue of such reference with confidence as the other gentlemen of the Council? Certainly not, unless he could be circumstanced like them. Whereas involved as he is, with what facility can Party disappoint his just expectations, and gratify those of his opponents? under how many pretexts may they direct payment to him to be withheld—a variety of pretended claims may be started and proposed to be set off in account against the money they shall allow he has a right to receive with his associates and as effectually preclude him from enjoying that right as if it had been absolutely denied to all. Now as his opponents are aware the

general right can never be denied, after it has been admitted in the order for the payment of the Judges' salaries, Hastings would have been a fool to have subjected himself to the possibility of party chicane and to anxiety and dependence in soliciting at a future day what he could have commanded on the instant, and I think it will not raise his opponents in the public opinion; while under the appearance of submitting their claims to future instructions, they carefully reserve to themselves the right of urging them and the power of compelling the Company to answer them. A reference under such circumstances must, I conceive, strike every man of sense in its true light, defeat the object it aims at and shew it that it really is an artifice mean and contemptable; though I make no doubt the immediate non-receipt of the money due to Francis (for little or nothing is due to Wheler) will be urged as submitting the decision on his right to receive it to the Company, whereas nothing is further from the fact, for in my minute I expressly call on Francis and Wheler to make a formal declaration binding themselves to abide by the future instructions, for which they pretend to wait. I have even gone further, for I have declared that should the majority of the gentlemen entitled to specific salaries under the Act of Parliament yield up any part of such salaries, I would yield mine and pay my proportion on demand into the Company's treasury. To this call which was clear and decided and which would have bound Messrs. Wheler and Francis in their vague and specious proposition as well as myself, they were totally silent, and by being so stand exposed to contempt in the lion's skins under which they would have hidden the *meaner animal*.

Francis has made some ill-natured observations on the deputation of my brother, Daniel, to the Court of Fyz-Ulla Cawn the Rohilla Chief, with whom Sujah Dowla treated at the instance of Colonel Champion and assigned a revenue of 15 lacs for his support. This man had been regarded with much jealousy by the present Nabob the son of Suja Dowla, and equally dreading the Nabob whose policy he apprehended was pointed to his destruction: both cast their eyes on our Government, the first to remove his rival and acquire his small territory by presenting him as inimicable and dangerous; the latter in order to preserve his independence and rights, soliciting a guarantee that must be a check upon the Nabob and advantageous to us by blending their general interests with ours. Under these circumstances foreseeing a negociation would fall to the lot of some one, I expressed a wish to have Daniel employed upon it. He was scarcely arrived at Lucknow on a private invitation of Mr. Middleton's, when the matter was taken up by that gentleman, and our brother requested by him to proceed to the Court of Fyz-Ulla Cawn the Rohilla Chief. This opportune visit and immediate employment of our brother is much dwelt on by Francis and represented as

a gross job concerted by the friends of the young man with no other object in view than to fill his purse. Specious as this turn may be, whoever reads the Persian correspondence will at once discover the malice and falsehood of it. In a series of letters the jealousies and apprehensions of these Princes appear; jealousies which without our interposition must have embroiled our Government and which at this particular juncture might have greatly increased the difficulties in which we are already involved by the influence of the French policy in the Mahratta Council.

The advantage I flatter myself to be drawn by our Government from the guarantee requested by the Rohilla Chief, will be such as to vindicate the measure in the amplest manner, for small as his territory and force may be in the great political scales, yet 4 or 5,000 horse ready to join our troops on the first call, will add greatly to our natural strength, on any emergency that may call it into action, and this I think we shall acquire by a negociation that Party has reprobated as an infamous private job. As I am stinted in time and possibly may not have it in my power to address Mr. Robinson and Mr. Purling on these points I beg you to be at the trouble of making the necessary communications to them and my other friends.

The dissensions of the Ministers of the Mahratta Government continue as violent as ever, and every advice gives us some fresh instance of the intrigues of France with a faction in that Government. Under these circumstances the cautionary measures determined in the Council-General are adhered to, and the troops some time since determined for Bombay, will march agreeably to their first destination. As much has been said by Mr. Francis who has led Mr. Wheler of the impolicy of the measures pursued at my instance, the Governor has taken the trouble of collecting all the facts on which such policy has been pursued. His Minute I enclose, and I make no doubt it will convince every man who reads it, of the absolute necessary imposed upon us to act with effect on so crittical a conjuncture. A Government especially trusted with the general interests of the Company in India, would most justly have been charged with supineness, had it declined making use of the means it possessed, when by a timely exertion it might have frustrated the intrigues that endangered any part of the Company's possessions. Whatever has or may be urged against Mr. Hastings and myself on this occasion, I flatter myself the King's Ministers will vindicate a policy that can have *no other object* than the safety and permanency of the British Dominions in Asia.

The march of the troops during the periodical rains ignorance has urged as an insurmountable obstacle to their traversing so great an extent of country as they must pass in their way to Bombay. Men who talk in this state are as little acquainted with the climate as the country. Infantry at this

period have only the weather to guard against, and the campaign of 1763-6 when Cossim Ally Cawn was driven out of the Bengal Provinces has proved it not to be pernicious to the health of our soldiers not even more than our garrison as was apprehended before that trial was made. In all other respects this period is favorable to the operation of an army composed of infantry, for as those operations are confined to the high grounds, and the public roads from all other parts of Hindostan being too much inundated to allow troops to traverse them, it follows that horse which is the strength of an Asiatic army, cannot act but under the greatest disadvantage, and that disadvantage not incident to the operations of infantry. But I can by no means admit the truth of the assertion that our army will be opposed in its march; the countries it has to traverse to its arrival at Burhanpur, are either friendly or neutral. Here the Peishwa's or Maharatta Ministers' immediate Dominions commence, and a tract of about 140 miles of country, no more, is to be crossed to Broach or Surat, two Settlements depending on the Presidency of Bombay.

I am, my dear Sister, Your affectionate Brother.

No. 564.

CALCUTTA,
The 26th April, 1778.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

Since closing my letter the enclosed intelligence of a change in the Mahratta Ministry has been received. The French intrigues will thereby be totally frustrated, and as the excluded Minister Nana Furnavese will in all probability aim at recovering his power by the army under Hurrypunt and the French, the English influence must naturally be established to the exclusion of the French. Party now cannot declaim that our measures are repugnant to the treaty of Proondur or that the Ministers who have solicited our interposition are not the Government.

Dear Sister, Your Affectionate Brother.

No. 565.

CALCUTTA,
The 26th April, 1778.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

The letter of introduction Mr. Farrer carried was given at his particular request; it may have been solicited with a view beyond what was declared. I therefore think it necessary to put you on your guard, cautioning you at

the same time never to expect any thing from his professions of service that is not entirely consistent with the line of his own interest. As he is a sensible man and known to Clavering's and Manson's connexions, by the confidence they both reposed in him, you may possibly find him of some use.

Your affectionate Brother.

No. 566.

CACCUTTA,
The 28th May, 1778.

TO JOHN PURLING, ESQ.

My Dear Sir,

I am much obliged by your favor of the 21st April 1777. The kindness and sincerity of your friendship warns me as I read, and believe me I shall be happy on all occasions to express the sense I entertain of it, though I have been and may be remiss in punctilious attentions. Neither yourself nor my other friends will I hope put a harsh construction on my trivial failings, but judge and approve me by the surest test of my general conduct and that, I trust and flatter myself, shall never speak equivocally to my friends, nor subject my esteem and wish to merit theirs to the least impeachment. Professions are unnecessary when an appeal to the past and present in all matters of moment that could recommend me to your regard speaks my claim to rank in the number of your friends, and the merits on which I have long taken that name and been kindly indulged with it by you.

You will perceive by the letter I addressed Mr. Wheler on his arrival the disposition with which I met him and the principle on which my support has been given to Mr. Hastings. As I can only reason from facts and act on supposition drawn from such facts of the intention of the Ruling Powers in England, I shall not I hope be subjected to misconstruction in the line I have pursued. My error if I have been in one, is obviously to my *own detriment*. Situated as I am with *assurances of support from Messrs. Francis and Wheler*, what influence but firm persuasion in the justness of the conclusions I have drawn could determine my conduct if I am right and I think and flatter myself that I am? My Lord North and your Court must admit the merit I have with each in my forbearance, and if mistaken, acquit me of opposition to your wishes, wishes it was not possible for me to conjecture from any circumstance that had come to my knowledge. That the Government was designed for Sir John Clavering is clear, and Mr. Hastings even insulted as he was, must have yielded it to him on the arrival of Mr. Wheler, but in case of the death or resignation of Sir John the variation of Mr. Wheler's appointment indicated an option left by my Lord North and your Court to Mr. Hastings which

I had no right to exclude him from, though *Sir John undoubtedly had*, for in his favour and his alone the measure that has been so much canvassed here, was adopted and must have taken effect before Sir John's death but for the violence of his temper and the intemperance of his conduct. As the particulars are known to you and the part I acted in that distracted scene, I will not encroach on your time or my own with an irksome repetition. Let it suffice that I did not aggravate it, and that I exerted my utmost abilities to calm the animosities that prevailed; a task nice and difficult in proportion to the point to which the Governor was critically advanced to vindicate his rights. He however was induced to recede without expostulation, and without attempting to controvert the interposition of the Judges, by laying the records before them and substituting for the question that had been proposed to them by Sir John, whether, "the Majority had a right to exclude him from his seat or whether the Majority could readmit him to his seat who had publicly vacated it of his own free will to attempt the rights and station of another." The letter subsequently written by the Governor in consequence of this insult on the act of Mr. McLeane, I neither participated in nor approved, and would have prevented by advising and recommending to Mr. Hastings to wait the arrival of Mr. McLeane before he sent it; his judgment decided differently, he may have been right; if not, I trust in your friendship to vindicate me to my Lord North in this point, as well as in the principle on which I now act with Mr. Hastings, and likewise to declare to him, as I have already done to Lord Sandwich, that I am devoted sincerely and firmly and without any reservation; that I have not written a letter since I accepted the office, his and my Lord Sandwich's favor bestowed, that has not insisted on such a conduct from my friends as might be expressive of my sense of obligation to their Lordships, but if the justification of my own character from personal attacks imposed by the intemperance of Party here, impresses a doubt of my sincerity, let my sister produce to Mr. Robinson or to any gentleman in their Lordships' confidence my letters from the commencement of the Government-General. These in a connected series of correspondence preclude the possibility of misconstruction, and will do me justice in the point on which your friendship has questioned me.

Your nephew, my friend Charles, has got back to his old station at Rungpore, after having suffered many unremitted buffets. You must watch over and protect him with your accustomed goodness and insure to him the countenance of any new interest if any such is to take place in the Bengal Government. My attentions he will always command but as my views must be concluded by the favor and support of the Ministry, I must obey their nod if it is to embark for England, and leave him and my other freinds to make their own way in life.

You have now so many opportunities of obtaining complete information on public points, that it would be waste of time to engage in the recital of them, would extend my letter to a volume. The first and most important measure and which subjects us to some expence is the aid voted to Bombay. In the decision of this great political question your knowledge of India and the interests that are to be guarded, will be of great service to form your judgment. Much has been said in opposition, but I believe you will think with me the arguments brought against the measure as defective as the general knowledge of the circumstances that determined it is limited in the gentlemen who condemn it. The next measure is the declaring the Nabob Mowbarrack Ul Doula of age. This is reprobated as a political measure by the friends of the Nabob Muhamoud Riza Cawn, but how could it be avoided? A Prince with 3 children and arrived at the age of 21, must be admitted to his rights upon claiming them. The arrangements that have followed are such as naturally occur on these occasions, and equally the subject of animadversion, especially the grant of the sum of 2,58,000 for the establishment fixed in the place of the old Regency by the abolition of which, 2,40,000 salary of the Regent Muhamud Riza Cawn is saved, so that the excess is only 18000, and I wish with all my heart we may be enabled by this concession to obviate further demands, and divert him from the claim which he has by the treaty of 1770 to 16 lacks, instead of 2,58,000, and which Mr. Francis very considerately tells him is his right when he comes of age, and therefore he must never be of age! The jaghire of Muhamud Riza Cawn of 2 lacs and more being official and held by the same tenure as Nagurbusty the jaghire of Raja Doolubram the other Minister, and which was resumed at *his* (Doolubram's) death is taken no notice of by Mr. Hastings. His moderation in this instance will not in my opinion be of the least service to him. All the connections of the Regent will exclaim against the abolition of the Regency, and give no credit to Hastings for his kindness in this particular, while the Public will claim the jaghire in reversion on the falling in of the office, whether they may or may not require it to answer the treaty of 1770. Thus all parties are disobliged, and the poor Governor-General baited on all sides, without a possibility of extricting himself unless by obliging the Prince at the expence of the Company's treasury or by obliging Muhamud Riza Cawn and sacrificing to his interest the rights of the Prince. As to the Nabob being prompted to assert his rights the supposition is absurd, for his pretensions have doubtless been combated and I suspect compromised, because he is totally silent touching the 16 lacs the Company stand engaged for, in addition to the 16 he has received during his minority. I believe Hastings has in this transaction been as watchful of the public interests as it was possible for him to be, has hitherto warded off all claim on the treaty, and

will doubtless continue his exertions to induce the Nabob to be satisfied, but I much apprehend the clashing interests of our Council will bring on an application we shall with difficulty elude, merely to strengthen the argument Opposition urges against the impolicy of declaring the Subah of age. There cannot be any interest nor any object to influence Hastings, and to avoid this suspicion he has done the Nabob an act of injustice in imposing silence upon him with regard to a part of his rights for his admission of the rest. These are my sentiments drawn simply from the facts that are presented to my eye, and not from any confidential knowledge I have of Mr. Hastings's transactions with the Nabob. Muhamud Riza Cawn I wished to have preserved in office, but he avowed party connections, and that and his other demerits induced the Governor not to press him upon the young Prince, disagreeable as he personally was to him. Other public matters are of less consequence, I pass over to conclude my letter and profess myself,

My dear Sir, Your affectionate friend.

No. 567.

CALCUTTA,
The 28th May, 1778.

TO JOSEPH SPARKES, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

I am obliged by your letter of the 20th June 77, and for the many friendly services which you have rendered me, it will suffice to assure you I feel my obligations and shall be ready at all times and on all occasions to acknowledge them. To be brief I must decline profession to be sincere. I must act as occasion and opportunities offer in the manner that may be agreeable to your wishes, and at the same instant gratify my attachment and your affection to my friend and your Brother.

The providential dispensations that have occurred to extricate Mr. Hastings from the pressure of an influence that overwhelmed him is equally extraordinary and inexplicable, at the instant he was about to quit his seat the intemperance of his competitor forced him to keep it. He is afterwards relieved by his death from any possible obligation he could lay under to the Ministry and Direction to retire from his station. How this combination of fortunate incidents will terminate, the expected despatches will probably inform us. I conclude from the facts that have come to my knowledge favorably for Mr. Hastings, for had his resignation been proposed to bind him under any circumstances, Mr. Wheler's first appointment either would not have been changed or if changed, the vacancy which still continued under the resignation would have been instantly filled and precluded the possibility of Mr. Hasting's continuance in the Government. Yet in spite of

this appearance, I have my doubts; for my Lord North had he proposed to leave the resignation, on the death of Sir John as not binding on Mr. Hastings I think Mr. Wheler would have been differently instructed to what the Opposition declares him to be. However, it is most certain that the appointment that was made on the proposed resignation has been annulled, that no new commission has been issued and that a suspense took place immediately on the news of Colonel Monson's demise and Sir John Clavering's ill state of health: under the impression of these circumstances (the respect I owe the Minister and my personal connections with Mr. Hastings) my immediate prospects are not only yielded up, but my support given to Mr. Hastings for as a man of probity and consideration, it was the only line left me. I could not accept the advances of Mr. Francis and engage in a strange unprincipled scene of opposition while I allowed Mr. Hastings a right to hold the Government, and acquitted by the death of Sir John Clavering, and the change in Mr. Wheler's appointment from the obligation he lay under to my Lord North to resign. If Lord North proposed to leave Mr. Hastings in the Government, as I suppose he did on Sir John's death, he as certainly proposed Mr. Hastings should be supported in the administration by me. In this persuasion I wait the fullness of time to compensate my moderation and to do justice to my pretensions. I cannot in equity demand of any man to yield up his first and greatest interests to my views, nor can I be so unreasonable as to press it upon him, nor expect his compliance. Every man feels and acts from himself and will not be taught a duty his heart does not willingly acknowledge and pay spontaneously. I here leave my letter to your brother Cator to say what he thinks necessary on public topics.

I am, my Dear Sir,

Your friend and obliged humble servant.

No. 568.

The 29th May, 1778.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

To the several papers enclosed I have added a copy of Mr. Purlings's letter of 21st April 1777, but as you know his line, it is given by me simply as a testimony of his disposition to render me assistance. His advice is sincere and I wish with all my heart you may be permitted to follow it. My pursuits have long been drawn to a point, and whether they be or be not crowned through the means of Mr. Robinson and the favor of the Minister, with their object I shall as I have always declared be happy to rank under the friends

of administration I should be highly gratified to be appointed to the Government-General even if I was engaged to yield it within 6 months after my elevation, but I shall reap very little pleasure in being advanced by chance as my seat will be rendered extremely uneasy under such circumstances, and I shall want the confidence so generally felt in unsettled precarious Government.

The paper no. 10 in the packet is merely to give a general idea of the Maharatta Government that such friends as shall be disposed to enter deeply into the subject may become masters of it. It is extremely imperfect as a piece of writing and is not designed for the public eye, being a recapitulation that repeats the same matter, owing to the ignorance and stupidity of the person to whose care the compilation was entrusted; the matter may be depended upon, the repetitions must be excused.

As I imagine much will be urged by Party on the measures respecting the Nabob, I have enlarged on that subject to Mr. Purling and you must use all your address to defeat the specious reasoning on which the partizans of Mahamed Riza Cawn will attempt to support his interest. Without the most flagrant act of injustice, Government could not decline to acknowledge the Nabob of age and admit him to the administration of his office. Policy did not require a support of Mahamed Riza Cawn against the wishes of the Prince, nor an opposition that would by paying the Nabob no respect nor consideration have let him at variance with the Government, and put him upon claiming pecuniary rights under the treaty of 1770, too clear and express to be controverted and which are now suspended.

As I have repeatedly declared my intention of acting under administration, and it must be known to you, some time before I can arrive in England, whither I must necessarily quit this country. On your obtaining such knowledge I would wish you to make known my disposition to Mr. Robinson. Tell him I shall be happy to hold a seat in the house under the countenance of the Minister, and that I have commissioned you to be at any expense not exceeding 4,000 £s. to enable me to render my service in that line.

I am, my Dear Sister,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

No. 569.

The 30th May, 1778.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

The sea horse Sloop from Sir Edward Vernon's little fleet is this moment arrived, and from Captain Panton I learn that the return of Sir Edward upon meeting the French ships sent towards Choul by the Sieur Belcombe,

and the news of the change in the Maharatta ministry had induced the return of Belcombe to Pondicherry. He was not as was at first conjectured on board the ship proceeding to Choul but landed at Mahie. The French had proceeded up the Coast of Malabar as high as Injedive about 9 days sail beyond their Settlement. On their return they landed a large quantity of shells and shot with some cannon and mortars at Mangalore as a blind. I say a blind because if these stores had been designed from the first for the service of the Nabob Hyder Ally it is not to be supposed the French ships that had them on board would have past the port at which they afterwards landed them, and proceeded so many days to the northward up the Coast where they could not possibly have any business, but with Maharatta Government. I further understand from Captain Panton that the Government of Bombay was prepared to conduct Rogonaut Row to Poona and that the escort was ready to march when he left the Coast. I hope and flatter myself this change in the Maharatta ministry and the cautionary measures of Government to support and strengthen Bombay will be followed by the happiest consequences, and baffle all the attempts of France to subvert the British Dominion in the east. However, as much depends on the Bombay Government, I have my doubts whether our policy will be productive of that extensive good to the public it ought to ensure. Be that as it may the Government-General has performed its part; the rest must be dispensed by Providence and be answered for by the immediate actors in the scene.

I am, my Dear Sister, Your friend and Brother.

No. 570.

CALCUTTA,

The 23rd August, 1778.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My Dear Sister,

The proposed address to the Court of Directors can answer no one good purpose. It will not divert the machinations of my enemies. It will not enable my friends to advance a single argument to prevent the threatened prosecution, and it will have this ill effect, it will intrude a subject on the notice of the public and at a period when the agitation of it can be of no use to my future prospects. Swayed by these reflections, I shall calmly wait to repell an attack that has either been made or determined on, reserving myself entirely to my arrival in Europe to attend to its issue. I am infinitely obliged to you and Mr. Sulivan for the solicitude with which you watch the manœuvres of Party and the abilities with which you combat them. Our friend has done

enough already to attach me by gratitude and should the superiority of his genius gain an ascendant in the Direction and give to him the accomplishing of my wishes, it will only serve to increase my obligations and with them, I should hope the powers of acknowledging them by services acceptable to the public and to himself, for to carry his approbation with me equally in private as in public pursuits will be my first object, and I flatter myself that he will be enabled to put me to the proof; though from the political conduct of the ruling influence in India affairs I judge otherwise at present and have turned all my thoughts towards England. As I am liberal in my attachments and expect the same liberal allowances I make, I feel myself obliged to the Earl of Sandwich for the manly candour with which he has treated me, and until I have an opportunity to make him my personal acknowledgments I beg you will do it for me with my warmest thanks for past favors and warmest hopes, that some occasion may offer to gratify the wish I have to express a gratitude I shall hold unimpaired for received benefits, although I may be subsequently involved by the part his general line of political connection may induce him to take. If such is my lot to be excluded from that connection with pretensions founded on the best disposition to recommend me to it, I say best disposition because I esteem not mine and my friends' attachment to Sulivan as a bar, the same principle that leads to the one being far from incompatible with the other tie I acknowledge.

The war in the opinion of the wise is declared teeming with changes highly beneficial to the political life of the Company. My humble judgment apprehends the reverse, for if the Minister aims at the territorial acquisitions for the nation, at what period can he with greater appearance of justice relieve the Company from the burden of their military establishment than the instant he takes upon himself the defence of those acquisitions? I would stake my life if he employs men of knowledge and principle and seizes the present occasion he will have no reason to repent the measure, but I will not enter into a subject that would require many pages that ought to be understood and in the success of which it is most probable I shall not have a particular interest. My ideas are singular here, they may be so with you and you I would engage to support them with lights that should carry conviction and open the futility of these objections that have and continue to be so much insisted upon.

My part in the present scene is in strict conformity to the past, and though I may not entirely approve of all I engage in, a divided Government demands a support as unlimitted as the opposition by which it is attempted to be weakened and distracted. However, all great points of political and national advantage are too important to be lightly determined, and in my opinion Hastings is most correct in his ideas on these points. His only foible

if it is a foible is excess of confidence, the happy enthusiasm of genius, but which from too weak or defective means may be a fault in his character though it is one of his merits.

The temerity of marching a body of troops entirely across the Peninsula has been treated as a wild project, and while the difficulties and obstacles are exaggerated, the policy by which they are to be removed has been reprobated and represented a deviation from its object. To obviate this indirect imputation that the ostensible and secret springs of our policy are different, I must briefly point out the end proposed and the means to accomplish that end.

The end is to secure Bombay threatened equally by the Maharratta Power and by the arms of France.

The Maharratta power is at present distracted by dissentions among the Poona Ministers for authority and preeminence. Two revolutions in the Ministry have rapidly followed and the Government though still unsettled is reverted to Nana Furnavese, the minister who has engagements with France. Whether it will fix there and on the ruins of the opposite Faction give an administration of vigor and pemanency cannot possibly be conjectured. Bombay I suspect will effect nothing. The invitation given to Ragooba at the close of Moraba's short administration is much clogged, and the resolutions of the Bombay Council indicate suspense. It was Mr. Hastings's, it was my opinion that want of decision on the first revolution would lose to the Bombay Government the best opportunity of pushing their views with a judicious policy. The opportunity is no sooner gone than the name and influence of our Government in unavailing declarations and votes became instantly engaged. No comment is necessary to such politics. It is sufficient to tell you, we conceived it possible, and in this sentiment had regulated our measures without dependence on the Poonah faction, or what might result from the political management of Bombay. To give security to Bombay two things must be accomplished:—

1st.—A check on the Poonah Government of such influence as should bind it to the observance of its engagements and prevent any attack it might have meditated in conjunction with France on Bombay.

2nd.—A reinforcement of troops.

A check on the Poonah Government was in Mr. Hastings's and my judgment offered in an alliance with the Berar Chief, if such alliance could be effected. We know he bore with impatience the encroachments on his Dominions and the claims made on him by a Government that had been established on the exclusion of his family from the *raage* or rank of Ram Raja, and we had soon reason to apprehend we were not mistaken, for to the demand for a passage for our troops if they should take a route through

his country, he did not simply assent but pressed us to take that road, instructed his Vakeel to urge it to our Government and appointed two others in his confidence to accompany the detachment. Under these promising circumstances Mr. Elliott has been deputed to his Court, and I should hope from his prudence and management the best consequences. The Berar Chief was independent, and his independence is an object to him I suppose of sufficient magnitude to outweigh the ridiculous preliminary claim which his secret enemies, I have no doubt, will advice him to make, because it is not possible for him to obtain it, and it would be impolitic as well as derogatory to the character we appear in to allow even the mention of the *chout* of Bengal to our Minister. It is true Mr. Verelst was so complaisant as not only to listen but to treat on the Maharatta claim of *chout*. This inconsistency I can only reconcile by imputing to Verelst the means and to another the wisdom of suggesting a treaty with the Berar Government The measure was truly political, but the end was lost when the means to effect it would in reality have thrown the whole advantage of the treaty into the scale of the Berar Government. On the contrary our object is to direct its views to a policy more flattering to its ambition:—

1st.—To fix it on its own independence.

2nd.—To encourage a hope that we may be engaged at some distant period in the prosecution of the pretensions of its rulers to the sovereign authority of the Maharatta State.

Both points equally interesting to Berar and directed with proper address by our Government equally so to us. By giving us a barrier on the side of Orissa, which it will be the interest of the Prince to maintain, and at the same instant the means (by falling in with his views) of pouring into the Poona Dominions a body of 30,000 horse supported by a regular well disciplined infantry, a force capable I flatter myself of giving success to any operation the exigency of our affairs on the west side of India may demand; though I entertain not the least doubt of the projected treaty taking place. Should it not, we draw at least this advantage from our present connexion with Berar, we bring our detachment to the frontier of the Poona Dominions and within 15 days march of the Capital or 25 days of Broach or Surat to act as circumstances may determine. The route through Berar is certainly the most circular and the roads not so good as those leading direct across the Peninsula. The dangers, however, are less and no force capable of obstructing the passage of the troops, can be opposed by any of the petty Powers lying between Kalpee and Berar, and at the same time by taking this route our detachment will always be as near to the frontier of Bengal as at the station of Kalpee where it was formed and from whence it marched on the expedition.

It is suggested by Opposition that the Poona Ministers alarmed by our union with a power of which they are extremely jealous, will immediately throw themselves into the arms of France, that the Nizam with whom we are on terms of friendship has already expressed a disposition to regard a friendly intercourse with Berar as hostile to him, etc., etc. Admitting the whole force of this argument to what does it point? Are we passively to wait until the schemes policy may have dictated to the Governments of the Deccan and Poona are ripe for execution? Are we to wait for the war at our own doors, to form alliances to oppose it, give every advantage in the contest and engage in it ourselves under every disadvantage? To this it will possibly be replied, we are not likely to be engaged in any contest unless we seek it; why then precipitate (by connexions that must alarm) States otherwise pacific into measures which we declare it is our object to prevent them from engaging in? If we are not likely to be engaged in any contest with Poona or the Deccan, engagements merely defensive with the Berar Government cannot give rise to it, nor can any provisional clauses for offensive operations in case of the introduction of a French force, or an attack on our possessions, produce a war with those powers. If we are to be involved in one it must have been already determined, and a few months will clear up to us what we have to apprehend from the Chevalier St. Lubin's negociations at Proondur. Wantonly to administer cause for jealousy would be foolish, but it would be more foolish to allow the probability of giving umbrage to States that hold an equivocal conduct to influence our measures in a point of such magnitude as the preservation of the English Settlements.

Rogonaut Row by the internal distractions of the Mahratta may or may not be placed in the Regency. It is a matter of indifference what man or set of men hold the administration while we have such influence as shall preclude the French and every other European State that has enterprize from directing its councils or introducing a force to contend the Empire of the East with us. If we have this influence, we have all we can in policy wish.

I have been particular in explaining a policy which from private discourses I collect will be represented not to have for its object the security of Bombay. The mines of Bundelcund, etc., etc., though jocularly mentioned, are arms in the hands of Faction and may if not guarded against make an impression. Ignorance will overlook the absurdity of a suggestion not supported by any fact which opposition could fix upon here to convey it. I fear they may forget there is not a blemish nor the semblance of a blemish in the administration unnoticed by Mr. Francis and unechoed by Mr. Wheler. It is true both these gentlemen hint at the shortness and facility of the direct road, although they concurred in the route pointed out by the Governor. The truth is they did not daret o deny their assent and

give the preference in direct terms to the shortest route, as it would betray a deficiency in geographical knowledge of the country and remove the detachment to a distance from the frontier of Bengal and leave it to struggle with every inconvenience that an opposing enemy could subject it to on its march.

Mr. Martyn's letters inform us that the opposition Colonel Leslie meets with is made at the instance of the Poona Ministers, and that Gungadass and Ballajee the Maratta Chiefs in Bundulcund act under orders, but as they have no army of consequence they have not been able to retard the progress of the detachment. By the last advices from Colonel Leslie's camp his field carriages being repaired he was about to resume his march and in 5 days expected to reach the passes that lead into Berar. I heartily wish him out of Bundulcund that inventive malice may not excite the astonishment of the credulous by lying reports of the plunder or ransom of Diamond Mines.

Mr. Sulivan's discernment and knowledge of India enable him to form a truer judgment of our measures for checking the Poona Government and the safety of the detachment to its arrival on the border than most men. He is not ignorant of the extent and force of the Berar State, and he is acquainted with the military exploits and fame of its founder, Ragoojee Bouncello, who invaded the Carnatic in the Government of Saunders in a very little time before it and took and detained in captivity 5 or 6 years Chundasaib afterwards ransomed by Dupleix and placed on the musnúd.

The news of a French war being inevitable had reached us some time before the public dispatches of the Company authorizing hostile measures, and it is with pleasure I inform you our Councils have for once been unanimous in the same point. Opposition to draw arguments from the weakness of our Government was forward in every prudential arrangement for our defence, and Hastings and myself to guard against every possible event forward in proposing them, for though we both thought an attempt on Bengal improbable, the declining to use the means in our power would have been false policy as well as false economy. Our military has been increased; Militia assembled, batteries and field works projected for the defence of the River. Three battalions as an army of observation stationed in the Midnapore frontier, and a Marine established for the river service. Here our unanimity terminates, for our associates reprobate all foreign aids, and under the guise of zeal for the protection of Bengal would limit our views to that alone. We have stept further. The weakness of Sir Edward Vernon's squadron called our attention and having provided for our internal defence in a manner satisfactory to Messrs. Francis and Wheler who either are or pretend to be timorous and apprehensive to an excess, we have resolved (in spite of their remonstrance that it would weaken the Settlement) to fit out two

ships of 40 guns each to act in concert with Sir Edward Vernon's little fleet, and the enthusiasm of Price who commands them has pushed their equipment with such rapidity that they will certainly leave the river in all this month and be with Sir Edward by the 15th September at furthest. Price is a man of enterprize, a bold navigator and tried courage.

The economy of the Directors will possibly render them captious; they may dwell on the expense without reflecting that their investments are undiminished and returns made on their ships to an amount equal to their most sanguine hopes. The liberal, however, will approve and with surprize observe the great resources of Government which a few years since was instrumental in forcing the affairs of the Company upon the notice of Parliament and brought it to solicit a loan of the nation. At this instant we have a million two hundred thousand pounds in specie independent of our current revenue, and our current revenue Mr. Sulivan will see by the public statement has a surplus after all the calls upon our Government are answered. Yet Francis had the assurance to propose opening the treasury for a loan of 50 lacs to provide a fund for engineers and to argue the necessity of the measure on the low state of the Calcutta treasury, where because we had only 50 lacs he would have it understood, we had no more; though Mr. Middleton from Oude stated his cash at 40 lacs and had given advices of the dispatch of 20 lacs. All this wealth is independent of the balance of the provincial treasuries. Wheler echoed Francis's sentiments. I opposed them upon the simple principle that as the current revenue was admitted to be more than sufficient for all our occasion, the balance of cash we had unappropriated was a fund for exigencies which we could not possibly use; that the treasuries of Oude and Calcutta had 90 lacs exclusive of sums legally in advance to the Military Pay Masters and the sums lying with our Provincial Councils. The Governor argued on a more extensive view of our resources and stated the estimates for the following year. Francis's object was to picture distress approaching by hasty strides and, at hand to establish the charge of profusion and by imputing the whole to mismanagement, want of attention and want of regularity and a vortex of political pursuits dangerous to Bengal to discredit Hastings. This striking me I declined the extensive ground taken by the Governor to oppose Francis's proposition for a loan of 50 lacs, because I judged it to open a large field for cavil and disputation, and liable to involve the point it meant to clear by a war of words not necessary to the subject. For this reason I insisted only on a simple comprehensive fact that must carry conviction and be conclusive, *viz.*, that our income more than paid all charges and remittances and provision of investments. If this fact is not equivocal the species in our treasuries is a clear surplus for exigencies; and if it is argued the balance of cash in some is not clear of

demands, omit reckoning upon such, say it is appropriated, and still you are not able to reduce the unappropriated sum below 90 lacs. What occasion for a loan, where is the distress that demands it? Do you deny the fact that the revenue is sufficient for all the occasions of Government? Refer back to the accounts of the 5 last years; these will prove the futility of your denial and shew millions of debts that have been cancelled from the surplus.

Amongst the pitiful shifts of Party I make no scruple to conjecture the increase of military will be urged as an argument, poor as it is, to condemn the march of Colonel Leslie's detachment, though Mr. Hastings and myself did not judget he increase indispensably necesssry and had all along argued against the probability of any attacks to be made by France, and such attempt was not impossible, but as it was beneath us to reason against a possibility though a mere possibility which we had the means of guarding ourselves most completely, we admitted it rather than draw upon ourselves the imputation of improvidence; and though the repulse of an invading foe with our established force should hereafter point out the expense of an increased establishment to be a charge that might have been saved, the circumstances of the Government would not have vindicated us for insisting on an opinion that would not have enriched the Company. The policy of the General Government I should hope is understood in England to have for its object the safety of all the Company's Settlements and not limited as Messrs. Francis and Wheler make it, simply to its own preservation, and if the General Government is undertood, as I hope it is, my conduct is right in joining with Mr. Hastings to watch over Bombay, give pecuniary aid to Madras, additional force to the British squadron and security from invasion to our own Government.

I am, my Dear Sister,

Your affectionate Friend and Brother.

P.S.—The last advices from Madras mention the assembling of the British forces and it was hoped by the 15 the attack on Pondichery would be formed.

As the packet touches on the Coast she will bring you advice of the success or failure of the attempt.

[*To be continued.*]